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SECURITY IN THE PACIFIC • *Address by Secretary*
Dallas 971

INITIATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS IN WRISTON
REPORT 1002

A FRESH LOOK AT THE UNITED NATIONS • *by*
Assistant Secretary Key 976

PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE H-BOMB AGE • *by*
Deputy Assistant Secretary Wainhouse 982

ANTICIPATED INCREASE IN REFUGEE MIGRATION
FOR 1954 AND 1955 • *Article by George L. Hartman* 994

For index see inside back cover



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Security in the Pacific

Address by Secretary Dulles¹

It seems appropriate here to speak of the Pacific Ocean. That is responsive to my deep interest derived both from inheritance and experience. My grandfather, as Secretary of State, negotiated the first Hawaiian Annexation Treaty, and then he negotiated peace between China and Japan. In the last 4 years, I have dealt with the Pacific area in connection with the Japanese peace treaty and the security treaties with Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Japan, and in relation to Korea. These missions have involved my crossing the Pacific 12 times.

Looking Westward

For approximately 100 years, between 1830 and 1930, the United States had generally friendly relations with the nations on the other side of this vast ocean, and we faced no threat from that direction.

Since 1930 there has been a change for the worse. The economic depression of 1929-30 cut Japan's foreign trade in half. It gave the Japanese extremists a chance to press their program for extending the Japanese Empire. In 1931, Japanese aggression began in Manchuria.

Our Government saw the serious implications of that move. Secretary of State Stimson proposed to other countries that there should be united action to restrain Japanese aggression. The answer, in Secretary Stimson's own words, was "a plain rebuff." Matters went from bad to worse until finally there came Pearl Harbor and the Japanese sweep through Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific.

It took 4 years of terrible war to reverse that situation. Now, happily, the island positions in the Pacific, for the most part, are no longer in hostile hands. Japan is a friendly power. However, on the mainland the situation is different.

When the Japanese surrender occurred, the Russian Red armies were allowed to penetrate deeply into China and Korea to accept the surrender of Japanese forces. Also, the Soviet Government took over the Manchurian railroads and Port Arthur and the Japanese northern islands, as had been agreed at Yalta. But, in violation of its express agreement, the Soviet gave vast Japanese war supplies to the Chinese Communist forces, so that, by the end of 1949, they had gained control of substantially all of the China mainland.

In June 1950 the Communists from North Korea opened their military aggression, and in November 1950 the Chinese Communist regime launched its massive attack against the forces of the United Nations engaged in repelling the Korean aggression.

Also, the Chinese Communist regime has steadily increased material and technical aid to the Communist forces fighting in Indochina. Now, at Geneva, the Chinese Communist delegation attacks the United States with venomous words and boldly charges the United Nations itself with being a tool of aggression.

Today, the vast Pacific is a friendly ocean only because the West Pacific islands and two peninsular positions are in friendly hands. Thus, the United States itself holds Okinawa, Guam, and other islands. Also we have security or defense arrangements covering the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Korea, Formosa, and Japan. We are giving supplies to the French Union forces in Indochina. But close behind this island and peninsular screen lies a mainland with many hundreds of millions of people under a despotic rule that is fanatically hostile to us and demonstrably aggressive and treacherous.

Japan

One problem which must particularly concern us is the economy of Japan, a chain of rocky islands whose area is about that of California.

¹ Made before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council at Los Angeles, Calif., on June 11 (press release 318).

Japan's population, now grown to 87 million, depends for its livelihood upon foreign trade. Trade is offered by the Communists—at a price. The price is that Japan—the only industrial power in Asia—should cease to cooperate with the United Nations and with the United States as it is now doing and should become a workshop where the abundant raw materials of Asia can be converted into implements for Communist use against the free world. Japan must trade to live, and if the free nations fail to make it possible for Japan to earn its way, then inevitably, though reluctantly, her people would turn elsewhere. This would be stupid from an economic standpoint and folly from a political standpoint. Japan is an excellent customer for our cotton, wheat, and rice. From a political standpoint it requires little imagination to visualize what would happen if Russia, China, and Japan became a united hostile group in the Pacific.

It was difficult enough for the United States to defeat Japan when Japan fought alone in the Pacific with China its enemy and Russia neutral. The free world must shun economic policies which would press Japan into becoming the ally or the tool of Communist China and Soviet Russia.

Indochina

At the moment, Indochina is the area where international communism most vigorously seeks expansion under the leadership of Ho Chi-Minh. Last year President Eisenhower, in his great "Chance for Peace" address,² said that "aggression in Korea and Southeast Asia are threats to the whole free community to be met by united action." But the French were then opposed to what they called "internationalizing" the war. They preferred to treat it as a civil war of rebellion. However, on July 3, 1953, the French Government made a public declaration of independence for the three Associated States, and in September it adopted the so-called Navarre plan, which contemplated a rapid buildup of national native forces. The United States then agreed to underwrite the costs of this plan.

But last winter the fighting was intensified and the long strain began to tell in terms of the attitude of the French people toward a war then in its eighth year. Last March, after the siege of Dien-Bien-Phu had begun, I renewed President Eisenhower's proposal that we seek conditions which would permit a united defense for the area. I went to Europe on this mission, and it seemed that there was agreement on our proposal. But when we moved to translate that proposal into reality, some of the parties held back because they had concluded that any steps to create a

united defense should await the results of the Geneva Conference.

Meanwhile, the burdens of a collective defense in Indochina have mounted. The Communists have practiced dilatory negotiating at Geneva, while intensifying their fighting in Indochina. The French and national forces feel the strain of mounting enemy power on their front and of political uncertainty at their rear. I told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week that the situation is grave but by no means hopeless.³ The future depends largely on decisions awaited at Paris, London, and Geneva.

The situation in Indochina is not that of open military aggression by the Chinese Communist regime. Thus, in Indochina, the problem is one of restoring tranquillity in an area where disturbances are fomented from Communist China, but where there is no open invasion by Communist China. This task of pacification, in our opinion, cannot be successfully met merely by unilateral armed intervention. Some other conditions need to be established. Throughout these Indochina developments, the United States has held to a stable and consistent course and has made clear the conditions which, in its opinion, might justify intervention. These conditions were and are (1) an invitation from the present lawful authorities; (2) clear assurance of complete independence to Laos, Cambodia, and Viet-Nam; (3) evidence of concern by the United Nations; (4) a joining in the collective effort of some of the other nations of the area; and (5) assurance that France will not itself withdraw from the battle until it is won.

Only if these conditions were realized could the President and the Congress be justified in asking the American people to make the sacrifices incident to committing our Nation, with others, to using force to help to restore peace in the area.

Another problem might, however, arise. If the Chinese Communist regime were to show in Indochina or elsewhere that it is determined to pursue the path of overt military aggression, then the situation would be different and another issue would emerge. That contingency has already been referred to publicly by the President and myself. The President, in his April 16, 1953, address, and I myself, in an address of September 2, 1953,⁴ made clear that the United States would take a grave view of any future overt military Chinese Communist aggression in relation to the Pacific or Southeast Asia area. Such an aggression would threaten island and peninsular positions which secure the United States and its allies.

If such overt military aggression occurred, that would be a deliberate threat to the United States itself. The United States would of course invoke

² For text of the Secretary's testimony, see *ibid.*, June 14, 1954, p. 921.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1953, p. 339.

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 27, 1953, p. 599.

the processes of the United Nations and consult with its allies. But we could not escape ultimate responsibility for decisions closely touching our own security and self-defense.

There are some, particularly abroad, who seem to assume that the attitude of the United States flows from a desire for a general war with Communist China. That is clearly false. If we had wanted such a war, it could easily have been based on the presence of Chinese aggressors in Korea. But last July, in spite of difficulties which at times seemed insuperable, we concluded a Korean armistice with Communist China. How could it be more surely demonstrated that we have both the will to make peace and the competence to make peace?

Your Government wants peace, and the American people want peace. But should there ever be openly launched an attack that the American people would clearly recognize as a threat to our own security, then the right of self-preservation would demand that we—regardless of any other country—meet the issue squarely.

It is the task of statesmanship to seek peace and deter war, while at the same time preserving vital national interests. Under present conditions that dual result is not easy to achieve, and it cannot be achieved at all unless your Government is backed by a people who are willing, if need be, to sacrifice to preserve their vital interests.

At the Geneva Conference I said: "Peace is always easy to achieve—by surrender." Your Government does not propose to buy peace at that price. We do not believe that the American people want peace at that price. So long as that is our national will, and so long as that will is backed by a capacity for effective action, our Nation can face the future with that calm confidence which is the due of those who, in a troubled world, hold fast that which is good.

U.S., Philippines To Discuss Mutual Defense Matters

Press release 325 dated June 15

Secretary Dulles and Carlos P. Romulo, personal representative of President Magsaysay of the Philippines, agreed on June 15 to establish a Council consisting of the Secretary of State or his deputy and the Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs or his deputy to provide facilities for discussions of matters of mutual concern arising under the United States-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty. Each member of the Council will be assisted by military representatives. Either party may request meetings whenever there is a need for consultation. The time and place of such meetings will be determined by mutual agreement.

Lt. Gen. Jesus Vargas, Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff, who is presently in Washington conferring with representatives of the U.S. Department of Defense, participated in the discussions held on June 15 between Ambassador Romulo and the Secretary of State.

Geneva Declaration on Korea

Press release 324 dated June 15

Following is the text of the 16-nation Declaration on Korea issued at Geneva on June 15:

Pursuant to the resolution of August 28, 1953, of the United Nations General Assembly,¹ and the Berlin communique of February 18, 1954,² we, as nations who contributed military forces to the United Nations Command in Korea, have been participating in the Geneva Conference for the purpose of establishing a united and independent Korea by peaceful means.

We have made a number of proposals and suggestions in accord with the past efforts of the United Nations to bring about the unification, independence, and freedom of Korea; and within the framework of the following two principles which we believe to be fundamental.

1. The United Nations, under its Charter, is fully and rightfully empowered to take collective action to repel aggression, to restore peace and security, and to extend its good offices to seeking a peaceful settlement in Korea.

2. In order to establish a unified, independent and democratic Korea, genuinely free elections should be held under UN supervision, for representatives in the national assembly, in which representation shall be in direct proportion to the indigenous population in Korea.

We have earnestly and patiently searched for a basis of agreement which would enable us to proceed with Korean unification in accordance with these fundamental principles.

The Communist delegations have rejected our every effort to obtain agreement. The principal issues between us, therefore, are clear. Firstly, we accept and assert the authority of the United Nations. The Communists repudiate and reject the authority and competence of the United Nations in Korea and have labelled the United Nations itself as the tool of aggression. Were we to accept this position of the Communists, it would mean the death of the principle of collective security and of the UN itself. Secondly, we desire genuinely free elections. The Communists insist upon procedures which would make genuinely free elections impossible. It is clear that the Communists will not accept impartial and effective supervision of free elections. Plainly, they have shown

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1953, p. 366.

² *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1954, p. 317.

their intention to maintain Communist control over North Korea. They have persisted in the same attitudes which have frustrated United Nations efforts to unify Korea since 1947.

We believe, therefore, that it is better to face the fact of our disagreement than to raise false hopes and mislead the peoples of the world into believing that there is agreement where there is none.

In the circumstances, we have been compelled reluctantly and regretfully to conclude that so long as the Communist delegations reject the two fundamental principles which we consider indispensable, further consideration and examination of the Korean question by the conference would serve no useful purpose. We reaffirm our continued support for the objectives of the United Nations in Korea.

In accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of August 28, 1953, the member states parties to this declaration will inform the United Nations concerning the proceedings at this conference.

Thailand's Request for Peace Observation Mission

Following are the texts of (1) a statement by Secretary Dulles on the Soviet veto of the Thai proposal, (2) a statement made before the Security Council by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., U.S. representative to the United Nations, on the proposal, and (3) the Thai draft resolution:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY DULLES, JUNE 18

Press release 331 dated June 18

It is deeply to be regretted that the Soviet Union should have cast its 59th veto in the Security Council today to prevent Thailand from having a United Nations peace observation mission. A peace observation mission has no authority to take decisions. It is merely the eyes and ears of the United Nations through which it and the whole world can know the facts as to what is going on in an area of tension. This denial to a small and peaceful nation—and one of the members of the United Nations—of the right to get even this minimum protection is one more example of the emptiness of the Soviet professions of peaceful purpose. The veto confirms our fear that it is the Communist forces which want to shroud in darkness their deeds in this area.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LODGE, JUNE 18

U.S./U.N. press release 1921 dated June 16

Let me present the views of the United States Government with regard to the request of the Government of Thailand that a subcommission of the Peace Observation Commission be sent to its territory.

It is the view of the United States that it would be prudent and highly desirable to authorize the Peace Observation Commission to observe developments in the area of Thailand in order to provide the United Nations with independent reports on the danger to international peace and security caused by the conflict in Indochina.

In his lucid statement made at our last meeting, the distinguished representative of Thailand has established beyond any doubt or argument that the tension in the area of Thailand presents a serious threat to the peace and security of his country. The fierce struggle in the jungles and deltas of Indochina may seem remote and distant. But the danger it presents to Thailand and the rest of Southeast Asia is close and immediate—and in all truth the world has grown so small that no place is any longer really "far away" from any other.

In the interest of speed and to avoid making unnecessary statements, I shall not take the time to review the origin and present status of the conflict in Indochina. The facts are so clear that no amount of propaganda can conceal this latest attempt of Communist imperialism to subjugate peace-loving peoples whose only "crime," so called, is their desire to live in freedom and to shape their own destiny.

As the representative of Thailand has shown, there has been a distinct possibility of incursions of foreign military forces into Thai territory in connection with engagements which have taken place near the Thai border. This danger continues. It may, in fact, have increased now that the Viet Minh forces have been equipped with foreign arms of the most modern kind. They now have a greater capability for heavy assault and rapid movement.

Moreover, Thailand has been the target of false propaganda of a kind that all too often in the past has been used to justify and prepare the way for acts of aggression. Communist propaganda and political agents have been utilized to promote anti-Thai activities among the sizeable groups of refugees who have found sanctuary in the border regions of Thailand. As the representative of Thailand has indicated, these activities have been linked directly with the invasions of Laos and Cambodia. The threat to Thailand presented by these military, propagandistic, and political actions is, therefore, real and continuing.

We have under consideration, accordingly, precisely the kind of situation for which the Peace

Observation Commission was created. It cannot be disputed that—quoting the words from the Uniting for Peace Resolution¹—“... there exists [in the area] international tension the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.” The United States Government, accordingly, strongly supports the request of the Government of Thailand and urges this Council to act with all possible speed to authorize the Peace Observation Commission to send observers to Thailand.

The resolution which the representative of Thailand has just presented to this Council appears to have been drafted with the greatest care. It addresses itself to the condition of international tension which exists in the general region in which Thailand is located. The resolution appears to us to be utterly devoid of controversial matter. Its objective is simply to enable a subcommission of the Peace Observation Commission to dispatch observers to Thailand and itself to visit that nation in order to determine the facts and report on them.

Since the threat to Thailand originates beyond its borders, the resolution authorizes the subcommission, if it considers it necessary for the accomplishment of its mission to observe in other states in the area, to so report to the Peace Observation Commission or to the Security Council with a view to obtaining further instructions. On this basis, the Peace Observation Commission or the Security Council would be in a position to authorize the subcommission to extend the area of observation to other parts of the region. This is a proper and essential component of the resolution. Without this provision, the subcommission might be prevented from ascertaining the very information necessary to any appraisal of the situation which we may be called upon to make. In short, it is impossible for us to see how any member of this Council can find any basis for objection or reservation with regard to the proposal suggested by the representative of Thailand. I therefore request, under Rule 38 of our Rules of Procedure, that at the appropriate time this resolution be put to the vote.

I urge the members of this Council not to permit themselves to be diverted from the simple but urgent issue which is before us. We are not asked, nor are we required, to make any findings on the situation in Indochina. We are not asked, and we should not attempt, to do anything which could even remotely adversely affect the negotiations still continuing in Geneva. The United States has cooperated in the effort to find a basis at Geneva for a settlement of the Indochina problem which

would restore peace and security in the area and at the same time recognize the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Laos, Cambodia, and Viet-Nam.

All we are asked to do here is to authorize a factfinding body to proceed to the area where this tension exists in order that the United Nations may receive impartial firsthand reports on the situation. If its reports do not bear out Thailand's estimate of the danger to international peace, we shall have discharged our responsibility fully. If, on the other hand, its reports do bear out this estimate, we shall then be in a position to consider the danger in the light of all available facts and to do what we can to avert it.

A loyal member of the United Nations has appealed to this body to take a simple action in the interest of its own peace and security. The action requested lies within the competence of this Council. Its urgency is manifest. Let us act promptly and thereby discharge our responsibility under the Charter to maintain international peace and security.

THAI DRAFT RESOLUTION²

U.N. doc. S/3229
Dated June 16, 1954

The Security Council

NOTING the request of Thailand;

RECALLING General Assembly Resolution 377 (V) (Uniting for Peace), Part A, Section B establishing a Peace Observation Commission which could observe and report on the situation in any area where there exists international tension, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security;

TAKING into consideration the legitimate apprehensions entertained by the Government of Thailand in regard to its own security, caused by a condition of international tension in the general region in which Thailand is located, the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security;

REQUESTS the Peace Observation Commission to establish a Sub-Commission composed of not less than three nor more than five Members, with authority:

(a) to despatch as soon as possible, in accordance with the invitation of the Thai Government, such observers as it may deem necessary to Thailand;

(b) to visit Thailand if it deems it necessary;

(c) to consider such data as may be submitted to it by its Members or observers and to make such reports and recommendations as it deems necessary to the Peace Observation Commission and to the Security Council. If the Sub-Commission is of the opinion that it cannot adequately accomplish its mission without observation or visit also in States contiguous to Thailand, it shall report to the Peace Observation Commission or to the Security Council for the necessary instructions.

² The draft resolution was vetoed in the Security Council on June 18 by the negative vote of the U.S.S.R. The vote was 9-1 (U.S.S.R.)—1 (Lebanon).

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 20, 1950, p. 823.

A Fresh Look at the United Nations

by David McK. Key

Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs¹

In responding to the kind invitation of Dr. Mayo to address you tonight, I have been given my first opportunity to visit your beautiful and justly famous state.

I am also taking the opportunity, unknown to him, to pay tribute on his own home ground to a man who played a leading part at the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in demonstrating that the attempted defamation of a nation's character, no less than that of an individual, is the concern of every nation and every individual; that charges which the facts will not substantiate convict the accuser; and that "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" as stated in our Declaration of Independence is still a cardinal principle of our national and international conduct. I refer to the valuable services of Dr. Mayo to his country in assisting the United States in the United Nations to disprove, categorically and utterly, the Communist charges that the United States Air Force had employed germ warfare in the Korean war.²

It was not an easy task which confronted the United States. So fantastic were the Communist charges as they appeared in the light of scientific fact that they were ridiculous to any rational man. Yet they had to be taken seriously because of mankind's unfortunate tendency to believe what he hears if it is repeated often enough. For over 2 years the Communists had used every technique of propaganda to spread their vicious untruths around the world. Thus we were confronted with a mass of false conclusions based on a mass of fabricated data.

To demolish these charges, Dr. Mayo used the very weapon against which the Communists have the least defense, the scientific method, the method responsible for the pre-eminence of American

medicine, American technology, and American industry. The skill with which he devastated the Communist position made an indelible impression on those who attended that session of the General Assembly. He explained, for instance, how the Communists, in order to create evidence to support their charges, had deliberately perverted to their ends the techniques used by the Russian biologist Pavlov in his experiments on dogs and rats, to produce a "conditioned reflex" under which the prisoners would automatically respond in a predetermined manner to rehearsed Communist questions. The Assembly responded by strongly condemning these unfounded charges. And, since the Assembly is, in a sense, a loudspeaker with many outlets, Dr. Mayo's words echoed around the world and the falsity of the Communists' charges was brought home to people everywhere.

This important episode of the last General Assembly illustrates how the United Nations as a world forum can be used to advantage by the United States and the free world to expose the vicious propaganda techniques of the Communists. There are other examples. Against the strenuous objections of the Soviet bloc, we also brought into the international spotlight a carefully documented report prepared by three eminent jurists from India, Norway, and Peru which fully established that systems of slave labor are an essential part of the economy and a means of political coercion in the Soviet Union and its satellites. This report, coming as it does from objective sources, is a telling indictment of the police state.

At the same session of the General Assembly our delegation successfully disproved the false Communist claim that they had abided in Korea by the Geneva conventions regarding treatment of prisoners. We brought the truth about Communist atrocities in Korea to the attention of the world. Statements, depositions, and eye-witness accounts of returned United Nations prisoners of war proved that the Communists had brutally liquidated countless prisoners and had used physical and mental torture as a calculated system for ob-

¹ Address made before the Minnesota Medical Association, Duluth, Minn., on June 8 (press release 304 dated June 7).

² For text of Dr. Charles W. Mayo's statement of Oct. 26, 1953, before Committee I of the General Assembly, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1953, p. 641.

aining military information, alleged "confessions" of guilt, as well as conversion to communism.

I would now like to review with you some other accomplishments of the United Nations during the past year from the point of view of America's participation and America's national interests. If it is not an unbroken record of success, it is far from a record of failure.

Probably the achievement which has most meaning to the American people was the armistice in Korea. You will recall that before this was achieved the fighting had dragged on for months because the Communists were unwilling to agree that prisoners must not be forced to return to the Communist world against their will. The Communists were finally compelled to give way before the cumulative pressure of world public opinion and the unrelenting moral and military force of the United Nations led by the United States. As a result of the armistice, the fighting came to a halt. The killing and wounding of American, Korean, and other Allied soldiers stopped. Aggression had been halted by collective action through an international organization for the first time in history—and this without a global war. When the Communists finally yielded and the principle of nonforcible repatriation was put into practice, the reason for Communist opposition to this principle became only too clear. The vast majority of the men who had lived and fought under communism refused to return to their countries. In contrast, the overwhelming majority of Republic of Korea and United Nations soldiers held by the Communists chose to return to the side of freedom. What a damaging blow this was to the pretensions of communism!

Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission

Now after nearly a year has passed the armistice, though uneasy, still holds. This is not to say that there have not been difficulties. One of the most troublesome has been the persistent Communist efforts to frustrate the operations of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

The members of this Commission, you will recall, are Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and its job is to check on the observance of the armistice provisions on both sides of the line. All members of the Commission, including the two Communist satellite members, have been given complete access to observe in the area held by the Republic of Korea and the United Nations Command, in accordance with the terms of the armistice. The Communists, on the other hand, have placed all manner of obstacles in the way of the Swiss and Swedes to prevent them from carrying out their observation functions in North Korea. This situation is summed up in no uncertain terms by the neutral Swiss and Swedish members of the Commission. They recently charged that the Czech and Polish members of the Com-

mission, in falsely alleging armistice infractions by the United Nations Command, were guilty of "malicious fabrications, gratuitous distortions, misleading half-truths, and delusive insinuations without foundation in reality. The methods resorted to consist largely in isolating facts and figures from their proper context and in making sweeping generalizations on the basis of premises thus distorted."

Moreover, the Swedish and Swiss members concluded that the control activities of the fixed neutral nations inspection teams in Communist-held territory "are not being carried out satisfactorily and in full accord with the spirit of the Armistice Agreement, owing to the restrictive practices imposed on the activities of the teams by their Czechoslovak and Polish members." And yet, in the face of this disgraceful Communist record, the Communists at Geneva have had the audacity to praise the working of this Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea and to suggest that the Poles and the Czechs help to supervise a possible future armistice in Indochina.

The Communists have been equally noncooperative at Geneva, where the United States, the Republic of Korea, and its United Nations allies have been seeking to bring about the peaceful unification of a free and independent Korea. Molotov, Chou-en-lai, and their North Korean puppets have been attacking the United Nations at meeting after meeting. They have refused to agree to United Nations supervision of elections in Korea. Instead their proposal revolves around an all-Korean commission which in effect would give the Communists a veto over every decision and would make free elections impossible. Moreover, they want this same United Nations Supervisory Commission, with a built-in veto given to the Poles and Czechs, to help supervise elections in Korea.

We cannot and will not permit the Communists to undermine the role of the United Nations in Korea or to sell the proposition that the United Nations itself is an aggressor. The Korean war made a reality of the principle of collective security against aggression. We do not intend to accept any proposal which would unify Korea through undemocratic methods or which would fail to recognize the legitimate function of the United Nations in Korea. We will not permit the Communists to obtain a repudiation of the very principle for which so many United Nations members, especially ourselves, have made great sacrifices.

Another way in which the United Nations can play a leading role in our search for a better world is epitomized by President Eisenhower's proposals before the Eighth General Assembly for the creation of an international atomic pool devoted to peaceful purposes. These proposals electrified the world. Secretary Dulles followed up the President's address with extended diplomatic talks

with the Soviets. It is a pity that thus far the negative attitude of the U.S.S.R. has prevented us from moving ahead on this vital matter.

I would also mention on the credit side the General Assembly's formal recognition that Puerto Rico has attained "a full measure of self-government," the report to the Trusteeship Council commending the United States for its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Assembly's resolution encouraging underdeveloped countries to create economic and political conditions favorable to private capital investment.

These positive accomplishments or proposals may take little time to recount, but they reflect months of painstaking preparation, skillful diplomacy, and patient negotiation. They also demonstrate how the United Nations can advance our own and the free world's interests.

The problems I have been talking about were not created by the United Nations. They exist in spite of it. They reflect the tense, contracting, and interdependent world in which we live. The United Nations offers the best hope for solving these problems.

One of the remarkable things about the United Nations is its flexibility. It provides not only a way to repel aggression, as in Korea, but also the means to detect situations which might eventually embroil many nations in fighting. The United Nations has an effective fire-alarm system which can be used before problems reach a critical, explosive stage.

The function of this system is dramatized at this time by the appeal for United Nations observers which the Government of Thailand made to the Security Council last week. As you know, Thailand, or Siam, borders on two of the Indochinese states, Laos and Cambodia.

In making his appeal before the Security Council, which voted 10-1 to put it on the agenda, the Ambassador of Thailand said:

... the situation in territories bordering on Thailand has become so explosive and tension is so high that a very real danger exists that fighting may spread to Thailand and the other countries of the area and that foreign troops may effect direct incursions into Thai territory.

The observer mechanism of the United Nations has been little publicized, but it has had a comparatively long and successful record.

Development of Watchdog System

Let me review how this United Nations watchdog system has developed.

GREECE

Actually, the first use and development of the United Nations observer system in areas of inter-

national tension took place in connection with the threat of aggression against Greece during the period of the guerrilla war there from 1947 to 1949. You may remember that a Commission of Investigation of the Security Council, after several months of travel and study of the situation on the spot, had reported that the countries bordering Greece on the North were illegally giving aid to the Communist guerrillas in an effort to overthrow the legitimate Greek Government. When the repeated use of the veto by the Soviets in the Security Council prevented action by that body, the problem of the threat to Greece was taken to the General Assembly in the fall of 1947. The Assembly then created the Special Committee on the Balkans and empowered it to observe and report to the United Nations on the disturbed relations between Greece and its northern neighbors. The United States was chosen as one of the nine countries which served on this United Nations Special Committee. It proceeded immediately in late 1947 to Northern Greece, where its headquarters were established at Salonika. Adm. Alan G. Kirk, at that time American Ambassador to Belgium and subsequently Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., was the first United States representative on this Special Committee for the Balkans. This is the same Admiral Kirk who, 10 years ago this month, commanded our Navy in the Normandy invasion.

Admiral Kirk and his colleagues soon recognized that, in order to carry out its duty of observation and reporting on the situation along the northern frontiers, the Committee would need the assistance of trained military personnel in sufficient numbers to permit speedy investigation at the scene of frontier incidents or attacks by the guerrillas. During the most active period of the guerrilla war, that is in 1948 and 1949, there were about 35 such military observers, furnished by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Republic of China, the Netherlands, Brazil, and Mexico.

Under the direction of this United Nations Committee, the observers operated in teams of three, each with its own interpreters and radio communications equipment, at advance stations at key spots along Greece's northern frontiers from Albania on the West to Bulgaria on the East, a distance of nearly 500 miles through mountainous terrain. From these advance posts the observers made regular inspection tours along their particular sector of the frontier. They moved rapidly to investigate specific incidents or situations as they arose in order to obtain fresh and timely evidence. In carrying out their duties several of these observers were seriously wounded either by escaping Greek guerrillas or by guards on the other side of the international frontier. These observers had the cooperation of Greek Army authorities and gained the confidence and respect of the people of Northern Greece, who, seeing the observers in their

midst from time to time, had tangible evidence that the United Nations was doing what it could to support and encourage their effort to remain free. Here is a case of the United Nations' being right on the firing line.

As these observers collected their evidence and reported it to the United Nations, it became incontestable that fullscale externally sponsored Communist subversion and infiltration of Greece was under way. Britain and the United States moved quickly to provide Greece with the military and economic assistance she required to maintain her independence. This turned the tide. By 1952 the Balkan Committee withdrew from Greece, but a handful of United Nations observers under the Peace Observation Commission have continued to keep the situation along the northern frontier under watch. And now, since conditions are tranquil, the observers are being withdrawn at Greece's request.

Looking back at the critical situation confronting Greece, I do not claim that observation and reporting under the United Nations was the dominant factor in stemming the tide of Communist expansionism then threatening Greece. Essential to that task was the military and economic aid which I have mentioned. Indispensable, of course, was the courageous resistance and determination to preserve their national independence exhibited by the Greek Army and the Greek people in general. But it may fairly be claimed that the arduous and often heroic work performed by the United Nations observers, and the solid evidence which they were able to produce as to the true state of affairs along the frontiers, constituted an important deterrent against what might otherwise have been overt and sweeping acts of aggression against Greece by the Soviet-dominated countries to the North.

Two other active observer groups operated by the United Nations stem from the conflicts in Kashmir and Palestine. These are the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine and the United Nations Military Observer Group in Kashmir. In both Palestine and Kashmir the primary function of the observer groups is to see that the cease-fire agreed to by the interested parties is maintained.

PALESTINE

Even before the present state of Israel came into existence, the Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine was set up in the spring of 1948 in an attempt to establish and maintain a truce between Jewish and Arab factions in Palestine. The personnel for the organization was recruited by the United Nations from the countries with representatives stationed in Jerusalem. The United States gladly and promptly made available military personnel and equipment in accordance with the estab-

lished understanding which this Government has with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In 1949, under the leadership of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, the Governments of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon concluded bilateral armistice agreements with the new Government of Israel. Each of these armistice agreements provided for the continuation of the observer system through bilateral mixed armistice commissions which were charged with enforcing the armistice. These mixed armistice commissions are still in existence since border incidents and incursions are continuing. The conflicts which arise between Israel on the one hand and one of its Arab neighbors on the other are handled by the mixed armistice commission concerned. Each incident is investigated by the United Nations observers and reported to the mixed armistice commission which is empowered to establish responsibility and to indicate what remedial action should be taken.

This process, continuing year after year, is, as you can well imagine, an exhausting and frustrating business for the United Nations observers involved. It is, however, helping to maintain the armistice while allowing time to work out a permanent settlement of the serious and complicated problems facing these newly created and newly independent countries.

KASHMIR

You may be less familiar with the peace observation work in Kashmir since the situation there attracts headlines with far less frequency. Kashmir is located in the northernmost part of the Indian subcontinent between India and Pakistan. It is one of the many former princely states that made up the British Dominion in India. Kashmir in area is about the size of your own State of Minnesota but with variations in altitude from the hot semitropic lowlands to the Karakoram range of mountains, which average about 25,000 feet in height. Kashmir became the center of dispute between India and Pakistan when these two countries were created out of the old Indian Dominion. Fighting broke out in the late fall of 1947, but a cease-fire was finally established in the early days of 1949 through the United Nations.

Again United Nations observers were called upon. Today, stretching across roughly the middle of the state of Kashmir is a cease-fire line, and situated at strategic points along that line are United Nations observer teams who have built up an extraordinary record for maintaining the cease-fire. There are today about 65 observers under the able leadership of an Australian major general.

KOREA

The type of observer group requested by Thailand last week had its origin in the experience of

the United Nations during the period immediately preceding the Korean conflict. In 1949 the General Assembly, apprehensive of Communist intentions in Korea, authorized its representatives to "observe and report any developments which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea."

United Nations observers were there on the fateful morning of June 25, 1950, when the North Korean Communists launched their aggression across the 38th parallel. Within hours, the United Nations observers reported to United Nations Headquarters in New York that an act of overt and unprovoked Communist aggression had taken place.³ They were able to supply the United Nations immediately with accurate and unbiased information on who were the aggressors, despite Communist attempts to put the blame on the Republic of Korea and the United States. This enabled an accurately informed Security Council promptly to recommend support for the United States appeal to the United Nations. Within 48 hours of the Communist invasion the first collective military action against aggression in the history of an international organization was under way.

The members of the United Nations Commission on Korea which flashed the warning to the United Nations were India, Australia, China, El Salvador, France, the Philippines, and Turkey.

The observation group in Korea, as in the case of Greece, Palestine, and Kashmir, fulfilled an essential function. This was why the General Assembly, by an overwhelming vote, decided in November 1950 to establish a permanent Peace Observation Commission. Its task would be to send observers upon request or with the consent of states to areas where conditions were such that peace might be endangered. It was to be the eyes and ears of the United Nations.

Work of Specialized Agencies

So far I have been talking about what may be called the political side of our participation in the United Nations. There are other equally important and constructive aspects of our participation in the United Nations which deserve mention before I conclude. I refer in particular to the work of the specialized agencies. The prestige and accomplishments of these agencies, which our Government has so strongly backed from the beginning, have increased. The contributions of other governments to their support are being augmented.

We do not regard one nickel of our contribution as charity or philanthropy. Our outlay is made in the best interests of our own security and well-being. Two-thirds of the people of the world

have a standard of living below what you or I would regard as a minimum. I think we should ponder over this fact. The people of the underdeveloped areas are beginning to realize that things can be better for them, and they are demanding improvement. The agents of international communism are of course taking advantage of their discontent and are preaching the false doctrine that communism is a shortcut to a better way of life.

The United States cannot stand aside from this social ferment and let despair and ignorance play into the hands of the Communists. It is clearly in our interests to work with the free nations in giving leadership to the programs of the specialized agencies of the United Nations in their increasingly successful battle against hunger, illiteracy, and disease—the conditions under which the Communist virus thrives. By so doing we are helping to expose empty Communist claims in contrast to the tangible accomplishments of these international programs of technical assistance.

In this work the United Nations and the United States are squarely on the same side. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, until recent months has denounced the work of the United Nations specialized agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, etc., and has stood aloof from membership. Now, however, the U.S.S.R. is moving to join some of these organizations. This is a kind of left-handed testimonial to the success of the specialized agencies in helping others to help themselves. If the U.S.S.R. demonstrates by its actions that it will support the principles and objectives of these bodies, then their membership will be welcome. If, however, their intentions are to sabotage these principles and objectives, then I can assure you that the free world will rally to defend and safeguard these organizations.

That the free countries are alert to this danger was amply demonstrated last week at the ILO Conference now in session at Geneva. The delegates of the non-Communist nations voted by large majorities to exclude Soviet and satellite worker and employer representatives from the governing body of the ILO on the grounds that in Communist countries such representatives are simply spokesmen for their governments, and not for management and labor.

Of the various United Nations specialized agencies I realize that you, as members of the medical profession, have a particular interest in the World Health Organization (WHO). I am sure that many of you here have taken some direct or indirect part in the WHO—the training of foreign students or doctors, technical advice, or foreign assignments for the organization. The World Health Organization has a record of tangible ac-

³ For text of the report, see *United States Policy in the Korean Crisis* (Department of State publication 3922), p. 12.

compliment second to none in realizing the United Nations determination to remove the basic causes of international instability and tension.

As a matter of fact, there are literally millions of people in faraway parts of the earth, who, when queried on the United Nations and what it is, think only of the WHO, known in many parts of the world as "WHO." I am reminded of an episode in Thailand. An Indian doctor working on malaria control in a remote village in Northern Siam asked the local head man a few questions: Had he ever heard of Mr. Nehru? "No"; had he ever heard of Mr. Eisenhower? "No"; had he ever heard of the U.N.? "No"; had he ever heard of WHO? "Oh, yes, Mr. WHO is the man who took off my clothes and sprayed my house and we have had no more sick babies—very good man." By so simple an experience as this the positive accomplishments of the United Nations are removing the conditions and attitudes which foster the spread of communism.

I have reviewed for you some of the accomplishments and some of the problems of our participation in the United Nations. I have taken a fresh look at the means offered by this organization to keep the peace, to resist aggression, and to remove the conditions which foster the growth of communism. I would ask each of you to take a fresh look at this organization from the point of view of what it was intended to do, what its accomplishments have been, and the kind of world in which it has to operate. I am sure that when you do take this fresh look, whether you have had too high or too low an estimate of the United Nations, you will agree with us that it is a necessary and effective instrument for us and all free nations. It deserves and needs your strong and well-informed support.

Guatemalan Situation

NEWS CONFERENCE STATEMENT BY SECRETARY DULLES

Press release 323 dated June 15

At his news conference on June 15, Secretary Dulles was asked about reports that the United States would at the June 16 meeting of the Organization of American States call for a meeting of Foreign Ministers to discuss the Guatemalan situation. He was also asked about reports that Guatemalan President Arbenz had been given an ultimatum by Guatemalan Army officers to dissociate himself from communism or resign. Mr. Dulles made the following reply:

I am not able to confirm either report, which does not mean that they may not be true. There has been an exchange of views going on as between

the American States with respect to the possibility of a meeting of the Organization of American States some time in the near future. I have no knowledge that it would be brought up at the particular meeting that you refer to. So far, the exchanges of views that have been taking place have been through diplomatic channels.

As far as the situation in Guatemala is concerned, we don't have any information which is from a clearly dependable source. We have heard the same reports as those you referred to. No doubt there is going on somewhat of a reign of terror in Guatemala. There is no doubt in my opinion but what the great majority of the Guatemalan people have both the desire and the capability of cleaning their own house. But, of course, those things are difficult to do in face of the Communist type of terrorism which is manifesting itself in Guatemala and which is perhaps most dramatically expressed by the statement of one Communist member of the Guatemalan Congress that if there was a disturbance, that would mark the beginning of a beheading of all anti-Communist elements in Guatemala.

I am confident that the great majority of the Guatemalan people do not want that state of affairs.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, JUNE 19

The Department has been in touch with Ambassador John E. Peurifoy at Guatemala City by telephone and telegraph and the Ambassador reports that all Americans there are well and safe. Mr. Peurifoy is keeping in constant touch with members of the United States community in Guatemala and has made strong representations to local authorities regarding their safety. The Ambassador also reports that during the past 24 hours serious uprisings were reported at Quezaltenango, Zacapa, and Puerto Barrios. He reports that there have been three overflights at Guatemala City. The first was at 4 p. m. local time, Friday, another at 11:45 last night, and the last at 11 o'clock this morning. The Ambassador confirmed that there had been no bombings or strafings by planes in the Guatemala City area and that, although the appearance of the planes had caused alarm, there had been no disorders.

At the request of Foreign Minister Toriello, Ambassador Peurifoy, together with the French Minister and the British Chargé, called at the National Palace last night. The Foreign Minister asked them to inform their Governments that Guatemala City had been attacked by two aircraft which had bombed a house near the center of town and strafed the National Palace. He also charged that troops had crossed the border and captured El Florido, 15 kilometers inside the Guatemalan border and that this constituted

June 28, 1954

981

aggression, and that he had asked the United Nations Security Council to take up the case. The Department has no evidence that indicates that this is anything other than a revolt of Guatemalans against the Government.

At noon yesterday correspondents Patrick Catlin of the *Baltimore Sun* and Thomas Gerver of the *Boston Traveler* were taking pictures near the center of Guatemala City. They were arrested on orders by the Communist labor leader, Victor Manuel Gutierrez. They were released 25 minutes later after their film was confiscated.

The latest outbursts of violence within Guatemala confirm the previously expressed views of the United States concerning possible action by the Organization of American States on the problem of Communist intervention in Guatemala. The Department has been exchanging views and will continue to exchange views with other countries of this hemisphere, who are also gravely concerned by the situation in Guatemala, regarding action needed to protect the hemisphere from further encroachment by international communism.

Exhibition of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

Following is the text of a message from President Eisenhower which was read by Clare Booth Luce, Ambassador to Italy, on the occasion of the inauguration at Rome on June 15 of the worldwide program by the United States Information Agency to exhibit peaceful uses of atomic energy, together with remarks made by Mrs. Luce on the same occasion.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

We have only recently passed the midpoint of the 20th century. Yet I am convinced that history will one day record as the most far-reaching physical accomplishment of all this century—or even of 20 centuries—the discoveries which in recent years unlocked, for the use of mankind, the boundless energy of the atom.

From among the numberless generations which have peopled this planet destiny has called upon those now living to reach decisions on the use of nuclear energy that will govern, in major measure,

the future of mankind. Never before has man's wisdom and vision been so supremely tested. Never again may man have so extraordinary an opportunity for his own betterment or so awful a responsibility for his own fate.

So great is this opportunity, so grave this responsibility, that all rational humans are moved humbly to pray that this new knowledge may be used in its fullness—for peace, for progress, for freedom.

It is in this spirit that the Atom for Peace Exhibit is being inaugurated in Rome by Ambassador Luce.

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR LUCE

It is a pleasant honor to welcome you here tonight for the inauguration of this exhibition of peaceful uses of atomic energy. The display you will see is presented in the hope that it may contribute to wider public understanding of the potentialities favorable to the welfare of mankind that exist in this new field of science. I know you will find it of interest and value. On behalf of my Government, I should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation for the very kind assistance that has been provided by the Governments of Italy, France, and the United Kingdom in order that this exhibition could be constructed and shown to the public.

Let us hope that this example of cooperation will be a propitious augury for the future development of atomic energy throughout the world. For there is surely no subject of international concern for which cooperation between nations is more necessary, if mankind is to progress in peace.

The American Government and people deeply desire to achieve closer collaboration in this field with all other nations. We believe that only thus can mankind enjoy the full benefits offered by this great new source of energy.

We regard the peaceful applications of atomic energy as a new sunrise on the world horizon. We wish its rays might pierce through and dissipate the cloud of danger created by the failure of nations thus far to achieve international control of nuclear power. We believe that our hopes and fears are shared by people of good will in every nation. On the foundation of these shared feelings we trust that there can be built, with patience and understanding, a strong system of international cooperation.

In that hope, I welcome you to this exhibition.

Peace and Security in the H-Bomb Age

by David W. Wainhouse

Deputy Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs¹

The Northwest Institute of International Relations has chosen for the title of the present meeting "United States Foreign Policy in the H-bomb Age." This is indeed a challenging subject. We now are living in a period in which the development of thermonuclear weapons holds a prime place in newspaper headlines and in the minds of people everywhere. This leads me to inquire to what extent has this development affected our basic foreign policy objectives and the means for achieving them.

Secretary Dulles has summed up our objectives clearly in one sentence: "The central goal of our policy is peace with freedom and security."

In our efforts to find that often elusive objective of peace with freedom and security, a wide variety of means is employed. I would say that the United States uses four general approaches. First, we try to bring about the adjustment of international differences through the processes of peaceful settlement. Secondly, we attempt to strike at the root causes of international unrest by supporting international efforts to alleviate social and economic ills and by our own programs for improving the world's living and health standards. Thirdly, we are developing an effective system of collective security against aggression, wherever it may occur. Fourthly, we are seeking agreement on a general program for the regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, including nuclear weapons, which would contain effective safeguards to ensure compliance.

Peaceful Settlement of International Differences

Our basic obligation to promote peaceful settlement of international disagreements rests in the United Nations Charter. This obligates all members to settle their international disputes by peace-

ful means in such a manner that international peace, security, and justice are not endangered. It is not a new obligation for the United States. In fact its historical roots reach back to the early days of the Republic. Nor is it the only international treaty in which we have undertaken to advance the processes of peaceful settlement. Most of the treaties and declarations which form part of the inter-American regional system contain pacific settlement provisions. As a specific illustration, the Pact of Bogotá, which established the Charter of the Organization of American States, obligates the American States to submit all international disputes that may arise between them to the peaceful procedures set forth in that charter before referring these disputes to the Security Council of the United Nations.

Our desire to utilize means of peaceful settlement is not limited to the inter-American system. The North Atlantic Treaty of April 4, 1949, obligates the parties to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The United States has demonstrated its support of this principle of peaceful settlement in one case after another which has arisen within the United Nations framework. Our efforts contributed to the peaceful settlement of such issues as the withdrawal of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon and Soviet troops from Iran, following Security Council consideration of these problems in 1946. We played a major role in helping bring about peaceful settlement of the issues between the Dutch and the Indonesians which led to Indonesian independence. Our support of the Balkan Commission's efforts in Greece certainly contributed to the easing of a dangerous situation between Greece and its neighbors. We have played a principal role in the General Assembly's and Security Council's efforts to bring to an end the

¹ Made before the Northwest Institute of International Relations at Reed College, Portland, Oreg., on June 13 (press release 314 dated June 10).

disputes between Israel and the Arab States in Palestine. While there certainly is no final peace agreed upon as yet in this area, the armistice is still honored in large measure.

The Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan also has not been finally settled. However, Security Council efforts, in which the United States has played a major role, have brought about a cease-fire and agreement between the parties on many elements of this dispute. I might also mention the Berlin blockade, an extremely dangerous situation involving the Great Powers and the prestige of both the Soviet Union and the United States, which was settled by peaceful negotiations begun through United Nations channels after the Western Powers had demonstrated their firm intent to maintain their commitments to the free people of Berlin.

Not least in the evidence of our devotion to the concept of peaceful settlement is the long history of the efforts to settle the Korean problem peacefully. We Americans are often accused of being an impatient people. Yet, I believe that history will record with favor our patient negotiation on the Korean problem in the face of Communist delay, vilification, and false accusation.

Striking at the Root Causes of War

The second major element in our foreign policy has been to support action striking at the root causes of world unrest. Through our own direct aid and through our support of United Nations efforts we are helping to save people, to save material resources, to develop skills, to alleviate the social and economic ills which provide a fertile breeding ground for world unrest and for communism and other similar reactionary doctrines. Between mid-1945 and December 31, 1953, for non-military purposes the United States actually granted approximately \$26 billion and loaned about \$13 billion for foreign aid in many parts of the world. This money was used to rebuild war devastated areas, to restore and raise industrial and agricultural levels, to arrest the spread of disease, to develop skills, to bring foreign leaders and students to this country and send our own experts abroad for mutual benefit. This expenditure does not include our support of the financially inexpensive but amazingly successful programs conducted by the United Nations in the economic and social field on a cooperative basis, through the United Nations Technical Assistance programs and the efforts of the specialized agencies, to which the United States is the chief contributor.

These efforts are in our self-interest. They are helping to create worldwide stability. Widespread disease, serious economic ills, and major social unrest in any part of the world inevitably affect our own peace, security, and well-being. We cannot be an oasis of prosperity in a world of misery. We must strive to remove conditions which

permit the Communists to exploit misery and want. Our security involves not only military power but also the good will and respect, the confidence, and the moral support of decent people anywhere in the world. As we help to improve the general welfare of people, we are giving them something to fight with and fight for.

Collective Security

When most people talk about collective security they think in terms of military pacts. While I have indicated earlier that in fact security is compounded of many elements, the military element is a fundamental in maintaining our freedom. Let me remind you of how Secretary Dulles recently stated the importance of collective security to the United States:

The cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defense. They clearly cannot achieve security separately. No single nation can develop for itself defensive power of adequate scope and flexibility. In seeking to do so, each would become a garrison state and none would achieve security.¹

The United States participates in two types of collective security arrangements. The first type is the United Nations system. The United Nations Charter contemplated that the Security Council would have primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The attitude of the Soviet Union soon demonstrated that the collective security function could not be based on continuing cooperation by the Five Great Powers. Soviet intransigence on the problem of making forces available to the U.N. in accordance with article 43 of the charter and the specter of Soviet use of its veto power to prevent any effective collective security action brought about the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of November 3, 1950. This resolution provides that the General Assembly can meet in emergency session within 24 hours if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the five permanent members, fails to act when the peace is threatened or broken. The General Assembly can then make recommendations to members of the United Nations to take necessary action, including the use of armed force.

The Uniting for Peace resolution also established a Peace Observation Commission to observe and report on the situation in any area in which international conflict threatens, upon the invitation or with the consent of the state in whose territory the Commission would go. The Thai Government on June 3 requested just such a Peace Observation group for its area.

Article 51 of the charter recognizes the right of individual or collective self-defense to meet armed attack. It requires only that the measures taken in the exercise of this right of self-defense be im-

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 29, 1954, p. 460.

mediately reported to the Security Council. Through various pacts, which are in accord with the charter, we are involved in mutual-defense arrangements with 38 other countries.

The Rio Treaty of 1947, better known as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, is an arrangement which set a postwar example in establishing the principle that the defense of the American Hemisphere must be a collective responsibility and, consequently, that an armed attack on one state would be considered an attack against all. This treaty includes the 21 American Republics and, together with the Pact of Bogotá of 1948, constitutes the basis for the collective defense of the American Hemisphere.

The North Atlantic Treaty came into force in 1949 and now contains 14 members, including the United States. Its basic principle is that an armed attack against one or more of its members in Europe or North America is considered an attack against all, to be resisted collectively. As you know, the members of NATO have made great strides in organizing joint forces and facilities as part of an integrated collective security system, in which each member contributed according to its means and capabilities.

In the Pacific, the United States has developed a series of security treaties, approved by the Senate on March 20, 1952, between the United States and Japan, the United States and the Philippines, and the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. These pacts recognize that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the signatories would be dangerous to the peace and security of the others and obligates all to meet common dangers in accordance with their constitutional processes. In addition to these pacts, the United States has entered into a security treaty with Japan under which we maintain armed forces in and about Japan to deter armed attack, while Japan is increasingly to assume responsibility for its own defense. A similar security pact has also been signed between Korea and the United States, providing for mutual defense against armed attack.

The meaning of United States participation in collective security arrangements can be summed up quite briefly. Our concept is that military establishments should be created on a community basis, where armed forces will not be used at the discretion of a single state or a single person, but only under circumstances which unite several states against aggression. This collective security approach is not, by its very nature, susceptible to being used for aggressive purposes. It rests upon the necessity for the free nations to pool their resources for the most effective defense.

Efforts Toward Disarmament

Patient and persistent effort toward general disarmament constitutes the fourth of the general

approaches employed by the United States in its attempts to attain this goal of peace with freedom and security. As a practical matter, the United States efforts to attain collective security and to achieve disarmament are opposite faces of the same coin. Their purpose is to achieve a reliable common protection against attack in order to relieve nations from the fear of aggression. One element of this purpose is collective security, and the other element is "disarmament." By disarmament we mean the regulation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all nonatomic armaments, the prohibition of nuclear weapons as the result of effective international controls, and the provision of adequate safeguards to make sure that all nations comply with such a program.

In contrast to our far-ranging and serious efforts, the Soviet Union has concentrated on a few ideas, simple to the eye and ear, designed largely for propaganda purposes—but which would also have worked to the advantage of the U.S.S.R. and the peril of the free world. The Soviets proposed a variety of devices which would have obligated the free world not to manufacture or use atomic weapons, without being sure the U.S.S.R. would do likewise because there would be no means of piercing the Iron Curtain.

In 1945, the United States had a monopoly of atomic weapons. Nevertheless, we tried to find ways to eliminate the threat of atomic warfare under adequate safeguards to protect all states. It was on the initiative of the United States that agreement was reached in Moscow in December 1945 with the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union on a proposal for establishing a U.N. Atomic Energy Commission. In this Commission, from its establishment on January 24, 1946, through 1948, the United States tried to reach agreements with the Soviet Union which would eliminate nuclear weapons as a result of effective international control to insure atomic energy was used for peaceful purposes only.

The discussions of the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission culminated in the approval of the U.N. plan for the international control of atomic energy, by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly in 1948. This plan was largely based on the United States proposal (often called the Baruch plan) as modified in the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission. It would provide for the elimination and prohibition, through effective international control procedures, of all the various types of weapons based on the release of atomic energy. Failure to put this plan into effect was due to the Soviet Union's adamant refusal either to accept the plan or to propose any reasonable alternative. The Soviet proposals, as practically all members of the U.N. recognize, present the illusion and not the reality of security. They would have permitted some kind of periodic inspection and would have allowed special inspection only under circumstances in which the suspected

violators would have been able to control the inspection; they would not have assured against the hazards of violations or evasions.

Throughout 1949 and 1950, in the meetings of the six permanent members of the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, we sought unsuccessfully to overcome Soviet intransigence in this field. Simultaneously with these efforts in the atomic field, we have been trying to ascertain whether there would be some means of reaching agreement with the Soviet Union on reduction of armed forces and the so-called "conventional weapons." In 1947 the Commission for Conventional Armaments was established by the U.N. with the same membership as the Security Council. In that Commission the United States introduced the plan of work which was adopted by the Commission in 1947. In 1948 the United States, France, and the United Kingdom played major roles in developing an important statement of the principles relating to the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. In 1949, the Commission, largely on United States initiative, developed proposals for a census and verification of armaments and armed forces, which the Soviet Union promptly vetoed in the Security Council. In 1950, although the Soviet representative withdrew from participation in the activities of the Conventional Armaments Commission, the United States demonstrated its interest in making progress by outlining general views on various safeguards in the disarmament field.

At that particular point, the efforts of the two United Nations commissions were stymied by Soviet refusal to discuss the issues and even to attend the meetings. Following the United States initiative, the General Assembly established the Committee of Twelve in 1951, in order to see whether progress could be made by combining the functions of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and the Conventional Armaments Commission in a new and unified body. All members of this Committee, except the U.S.S.R., agreed that this course should be followed. The U.S.S.R. position was all the more difficult to understand because it had in past years favored such a unified approach to the disarmament problem.

On January 11, 1952, the present United Nations Disarmament Commission was created by the General Assembly on the basis of proposals made by the United States, joined by the United Kingdom and France, which outlined the objectives and the terms of reference of the Commission. The Commission tried hard throughout 1952 to find ways of carrying out the tasks set for it by the General Assembly. These efforts again failed because of Soviet intransigence. In these meetings, the United States independently, or joined by the United Kingdom and France, in effect presented the broad outline of its views on a comprehensive disarmament program which would include all

armed forces and all armaments, both atomic and nonatomic.

We presented "Essential Principles for a Disarmament Program," to provide objectives which might guide the Disarmament Commission in its work. We introduced proposals on a system of progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments, which included atomic information from the outset. Joined by the United Kingdom and France, we suggested fixing ceilings on the armed forces of the Five Great Powers and all other states with substantial military power which would have meant great reductions in these armed forces. The three Western Powers set forth their views on how to prevent undue concentration of permitted armed forces in the various military services, and how to limit conventional armaments. Finally, the United States explained how it believed bacteriological weapons should be eliminated from national armaments as part of a comprehensive disarmament system.

You may recall that the Soviet Union preferred to raise false charges that the United States had used bacteriological weapons in North Korea and China rather than discuss how these weapons might be eliminated in a general disarmament program. This Soviet concentration on propaganda, which was a lie in its inception and in every other detail, was characteristic of the Soviet approach to the problems discussed in the Disarmament Commission in 1952.

Despite this record of frustration, the U.S. continued in every practicable way to demonstrate this Government's abiding desire for disarmament. In 1953, this desire was demonstrated most concretely by four efforts. First, on April 16, 1953, President Eisenhower suggested that a disarmament agreement could properly include limitation, either by absolute numbers or by an agreed ratio, on the military and security forces of all nations; an agreed limit on that part of total production of certain strategic materials devoted to military purposes; international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons; limitation or prohibition of other categories of weapons of great destructiveness; and enforcement of this program under adequate safeguards, including a practical inspection system under the United Nations. The President declared his readiness to ask the people of the U.S. to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament for a fund for world aid and reconstruction. He called upon the Soviet Union to demonstrate concretely its concern for peace by deeds instead of by words.

Second, Secretary of State Dulles in his opening address to the United Nations General Assembly on September 17, 1953, emphasized the U.S. desire for progress in relaxing international tensions and this Government's willingness to try

to solve the complex problems in the disarmament field now in anticipation of the time when agreements in the political area would enable an agreed disarmament program actually to be put into effect. Mr. Dulles said that the U.S. was not inflexible in its views except in insisting that any proposals must meet the one fundamental test of safeguards to insure the compliance of all nations and to give adequate warning of possible evasions or violations.

Third, President Eisenhower made his proposals of December 8, 1953 at the United Nations General Assembly. You will recall he suggested that there should be joint contributions of uranium and fissionable materials to an International Atomic Energy Agency, established under the aegis of the U.N. The most important responsibility of this Agency would be to devise methods to allocate this material to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. The President made clear that this proposal was not intended to solve all the complex problems in the disarmament field. Instead he hoped it would initiate a new approach to these many difficult problems. As you know, private discussions with the Soviet Union on this matter have been conducted over the past months. On May 31 the President disclosed these bilateral conversations had not been productive of the results we seek. He added that the U.S. intends to exchange views and consult with the other free nations principally involved, in the belief that our purposes and hopes would survive even the most frustrating series of talks.

The fourth major example of U.S. desire to achieve safeguarded disarmament was our cosponsorship of the General Assembly resolution of November 28, 1953. This resolution provided that the Disarmament Commission should consider establishing a subcommittee of representatives of the "powers principally involved" to seek in private an acceptable solution to the disarmament problem. Under this resolution a subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission has been set up consisting of the U.S.S.R., the U.K., Canada, France, and the U.S. This subcommittee of five has been meeting in closed sessions in London since May 13.

Soviet Propositions

To this initiative of the U.S. over the years, how has the Soviet Union reacted? There have been variations in the details but none in the substance of the Russian responses. First, the U.S.S.R. has tried to get the U.N. to declare atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons of mass destruction to be "unconditionally prohibited" by force of the declaration alone, without adequate safeguards to insure that the prohibition would in fact be observed. Secondly, the U.S.S.R. has asked the U.N. to recommend to the five permanent members of the Security Council that they reduce

their armed forces by one-third within a year. From what levels and to what levels this one-third reduction would apply has not been explained, nor how it would be accomplished. This would maintain or even increase the preponderance of power in this field on the part of the Soviet world. And, thirdly, the Soviet Union has tried to secure U.N. recommendations to eliminate military, air, and naval bases in the territories of other states, with particular reference to NATO, on the alleged ground that these bases increase the threat of a new world war but actually because they strengthen the defensive capabilities of the free world.

The United Nations has rejected all of the Soviet propositions over these years, recognizing them for what they are. There is no reason to expect a different fate for the present Soviet variation on its old theme. In the past, they stressed banning nuclear weapons merely by declaration. Now they propose—again by declaration—banning the use only of these weapons. This is sometimes referred to as a new approach by the Soviet Union. In fact, it is really a repetition of efforts made in the General Assembly by the U.S.S.R. in the fall of 1950 and rejected by a substantial majority of the U.N. The United Nations rejected it then as the U.S. opposes it now. Our reasons are sound.

The United States believes that the disarmament system for which we are working should provide for prohibition not only of the use but also of the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons. But we believe this can only come about as the result of effective safeguards which will insure that such agreements will be observed. Mere declarations not to use these weapons, which lack any adequate safeguards against violations or evasions, do not lessen the danger of war nor its destructiveness. The Soviet proposal would permit stocks of weapons to be accumulated, while merely proposing a declaration against their use which would provide at best the illusion and not the reality of security.

The United States adheres to the views recognized as fundamental by the United Nations, which state that the whole disarmament program, including the elimination and prohibition of atomic weapons and major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, should be carried out under effective international controls and in such a way that no state would have cause to feel that its security was in danger. The Soviet proposal for a ban on the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons is an effort to single out particular weapons and then not to do anything more than create a paper promise not to use these weapons. This approach attempts to ignore the defeat suffered by the U.S.S.R. when it last made such a proposal, when the members of the U.N. pointed out clearly that it is aggression which is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security, rather than the use of any particular weapons. For its part, the United

States Government has said before and will repeat again that it will not use any kind of a weapon except to repel aggression; that the United States will not threaten to employ these weapons or use them in any other manner inconsistent with our obligations under the U.N. Charter. These are pledges far greater than those which the U.S.S.R. seeks to obtain from us for both propaganda and strategic purposes.

I have emphasized particularly in my statement two of what I conceive to be the four principal approaches used by the U.S. in trying to obtain this objective of peace with freedom and security. They are all part of the whole, and the use of the processes of peaceful settlement and the attempts to alleviate international social and economic ills are also of great importance.

I would like to close with one reference which would indicate to you why I have placed such emphasis upon collective security and disarmament. Dr. Lloyd V. Berkner, a distinguished physicist, recently wrote: "I have heard it said that the only hope of avoiding destruction to our civilized values now lies in negotiation. This is probably true. But negotiation can be effective only when we negotiate from strength." One of the major objectives of this Government is to negotiate from strength. It is for this among other reasons that we pursue the four courses of action which I have described. We have sometimes been accused of seeking strength rather than negotiation. In fact, the United States is seeking both strength—our own and that of the free nations—and negotiation. This dual effort has received the firm support of most members of the United Nations. I believe our record will demonstrate clearly that we have sought to negotiate settlements of the major international issues, and I am sure that my recital of the initiative taken by the United States in the disarmament field is good testimony to the patience and persistence of these efforts. We shall continue these efforts. I only hope that some day we may be successful.

Building Strength in Today's World Power Situation

by Deputy Under Secretary Murphy¹

Perhaps today more than ever in American history the impact of our foreign relations is felt more directly by those like yourselves whose good fortune it is to be graduated from American universities. But of course you know that the power of a great nation is inextricably bound up with its

responsibilities. The world into which this graduating class enters is profoundly different from that which received your elders and preceding generations of Americans. Just as the power situation of our country has undergone change, so the world of today is different in the tempo of events, in the development of scientific techniques, in its social characteristics and its conflicting ideologies. In the healthy environment of Fordham you are blessed by acceptance of a code of morality which has become alien to large masses of the world population for whom the state and not the individual is of capital importance.

I suppose a pessimist would bemoan the fortune which has been our lot in emerging from the titanic battles of World War II, victorious over the totalitarian ideologies of nazism and fascism, only to collide headlong, after barely a month of respite, with the worldwide crusade of yet another pagan philosophy, Soviet communism. But it really is a challenge out of which will come a better understanding of human values and a firm belief in our religious principles. Communism long since rejected that code of morals which you have learned to revere here at Fordham and elsewhere. At times, in dealing with the exponents of the other system, it has seemed to some of us that we are at a disadvantage. For them the conception of political action in good faith, of truth, of confidence, and of trust are the outmoded concepts of a despised bourgeoisie. But I believe that the disadvantage is more apparent than real, and now the problem is more clearly understood by an ever growing number in the free world. At least the day has passed when we heard so often that the trouble was that the Soviets did not understand us well enough and that we had to make substantial concessions at every turn to persuade them of our good faith. It seems hard to believe today that such a theory was widespread on the part of many Americans 10 years ago. Incredible as it now seems, those were the days when it was considered a diplomatic victory to induce a Soviet representative merely to attend an international meeting. But that is the way it was.

Of course, as our Secretary of State recently said, if one does not believe in a spiritual order, if one does not accept the fact of moral law and what the Virginia Bill of Rights referred to as "the duty which we owe to our Creator," then it is indeed difficult to combat the thesis that men should be the servants of the state. And that one state should be the master over all other states. As Secretary Dulles has wisely said, if it be accepted as a premise that man is merely matter, then it is easy to conclude, as the Communists do, that the greatest harmony and greatest productivity come from organizing a society of conformity, where diversity is treated as grit in the gears of a delicate machine. If all people act only as directed and think only as directed and believe only as directed, then, it is argued, there will be none

¹ Address made at the commencement exercises at Fordham University, New York, N. Y., on June 9 (press release 311).

of the collisions, the disturbances, which produce social unrest and wars. Then, it is said, there will be peace and maximum productivity, because we shall have applied to man the same principles of conduct which, we find, increase peace and productivity in the case of domesticated animals.

Under our system political liberty and national sovereignty are orderly and acceptable only if we exercise self-restraints and self-control in accordance with the dictates of moral law; it is indispensable to a free society that there be acceptance of the supremacy of moral law, or free society becomes a society of intolerable license. Basically the present conflict between freedom and despotism is a conflict between a spiritual and material view of the universe and of the nature of man.

It is not and cannot be satisfactory to the Soviet Communists that freedom is suppressed only within what is now the area dominated by them—this for the reason that freedom anywhere is a constant danger to them because freedom is inherently a contagious and dynamic moral force.

Thus it happens in our negotiations with the Communists, whether it be in relation to Germany, Austria, atomic energy, or Korea or Indochina, there is always a consistent pattern. They cannot relax their grip on what they have. They invariably insist upon a formula which will not only assure the perpetuation of their despotism but they seek by ruthless methods to gain control of other and more distant areas which still enjoy freedom.

That is the grim element, in what would otherwise be a favorable, even happy, international picture, and it overshadows the future destiny of today's graduating class and the classes of all our American universities. Arising out of these circumstances and to protect the young people in the development of their careers and the enjoyment of a way of life which we cherish, your government is engaged in the elaboration of a system of collective security.

Naturally the most important objective of your government is to keep the peace and the cardinal principle it has adopted for this purpose is the principle of collective security. We learned this lesson from the bitter experiences of two world wars. We have tried and it continues to be a tenet of American policy to apply this principle on a universal basis in the United Nations.

Unfortunately for the world, Soviet imperialism, operating under various slogans and promoting the cause of international communism, became the chief disturber of the peace throughout a whole series of expansionist projects. By devious ways and the ample use of the veto its representatives have tried to obstruct the normal operation of the United Nations peace machinery which under the charter is comparatively simple and clear. A number of nations including our own refused to be frustrated by Soviet obstructionist tactics and it fortunately became apparent that the peace-

making function of the United Nations is so important that it offers a reasonable latitude and a variety of action all within the purview of the Charter.

Thus it is well to remember that the Uniting for Peace Resolution empowered the vetoless General Assembly to initiate collective action against aggression. Article 52 of the charter authorizes and encourages regional security arrangements for keeping the peace. And, of course, the historic Vandenberg Resolution adopted by our Congress authorized American association with regional and other collective security arrangements.

So it is clear that the guideline for United States security action contemplates that such action have the moral sanction of the United Nations in accordance with its established procedures. In such instances it is also clear that our national action must be a part of collective action, either under the charter as in the case of Korea, or under regional arrangements for self-defense as authorized by the charter and of course including the threatened victim nation itself. In the words of our President, each area must be defended primarily by the people of that region; no nation can be saved which does not wish to be saved.

Thus our present policy represents an evolution of the security goals we set for ourselves during the course of American postwar planning. It has been adapted to cope with Communist obstruction but it still stresses security as the primary requirement for world progress.

Closely associated in our minds with security is the promotion of world prosperity through cooperation. Again the Iron Curtain has denied us this on a worldwide basis but the free world offers us a vast area in which we can act. And your Government is acting with vigor in the fields of economic cooperation and technical assistance as well as in the broader areas of cultural exchanges and intellectual cooperation. It is in these areas that solid barriers can be erected against Communist subversion which breeds on and inspires social distress, and so strength can be stored against eventual Communist aggression.

British Leaders' Visit to United States

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT

White House press release dated June 15

Some weeks ago the President of the United States of America invited the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom to spend a weekend as his guests in Washington.

The invitation was cordially accepted, and it has been arranged for the visit to take place during the weekend beginning June 25.

STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY DULLES

Press release 321 dated June 15

At his news conference on June 15, Secretary Dulles was asked the purpose of the impending visit to the United States of Sir Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden. Mr. Dulles replied:

The purpose is no more than the general desire which Sir Winston Churchill has constantly had to keep in close touch with his American friends. It has been his practice, I think, over a period of years, to come almost annually to this country. In the process of coming here, he keeps in contact with American public opinion and with the thinking of the President and the Secretary of State in relation to matters which are of common concern. This is what you might call a normal visit in this respect. It does not grow out of any emergency. It has no agenda. It is merely an informal talk together of the kind which Sir Winston has sought over a good many years.

Asked whether the timing of the invitation and its acceptance implied that there had been some change in the British position "due to the failure" of the Geneva Conference, Mr. Dulles replied:

Well, there has been actually a sort of standing invitation from the President to Sir Winston and Mr. Eden to come over here whenever it was convenient. They are old friends of his, and he enjoys the prospect of getting together and having informal talks. This, as I say, has been a sort of standing invitation. Actually, it could be said that it has been outstanding for much more than some weeks. The fact that it is actually accepted now for the weekend of June 25 is partly due to the fact that it was not convenient for Mr. Eden to come over here with Sir Winston while the Geneva Conference was going on. It looks now as though the Geneva Conference either will be terminated or recessed or perhaps reduced to a lower level of negotiation, so that it now seems a convenient time to have the sort of informal get-together which has been in our minds for some time.

Asked whether it would be fair to assume that the conversations will have some bearing on united action, Mr. Dulles replied:

I would think that it would be fair to assume that we would talk about whatever are the live topics of the moment and that might be one of them.

Asked whether another topic would be possible alternatives to EDC, the Secretary said:

I think my answer to the prior question covers that one also. As I say, there is no agenda, and the meeting and talks will be extremely informal, and there will not be, as I understand it, any attempt to arrive at any formal decisions, but probably the kind of talk which would be expected of men of affairs if they gathered together in the smoking room after dinner and talked about the matters that are currently in the news.

Asked whether the French would be brought into the talks, Mr. Dulles replied:

I do not think that there will be any French participation in these particular talks. As I say, this has been a sort of personal invitation of the President's to personal friends of his. It is not intended to arrive at any formal decisions which would involve matters of legitimate concern to France, and it is not anticipated that the French will be invited. This is not going to be like the three-power talks that took place at Bermuda. There have been occasions, as you know, when the French President of the Council and the French Foreign Secretary have been over here alone without the presence of the British, and this will be an occasion when the British will be here without the presence of the French. There are no implications to be drawn from that.

Asked whether he expected the visit of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden to advance his efforts and his interests in the formation of a collective defense system for Southeast Asia, Mr. Dulles answered:

The United States has not given up its view that the situation in that area would be improved by the creation of a collective defense system. I would hope that the talks here would at least further progress along that line. There seems to be some indication that the British feel that the possibilities of Geneva have been exhausted and that the result is sufficiently barren so that alternatives should now be considered. If that is the way they feel when they come over here, I hope that that can lead to a closer meeting of the minds which may permit, in consultation with the other states which are legitimately involved, the taking of some decisions.

U.S. Assurances to France

White House press release dated June 18

Following is the text of a letter of June 18 from President Eisenhower to President René Coty of France:

MY DEAR PRESIDENT COTY: I write to assure you that in these troubled days my country remains warm in its sympathy and staunch in its friendship for your country.

It is of the utmost concern to my country, and indeed to peoples everywhere, that France should continue to play her historic role as the champion of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and as a master craftsman of new and better human relationships.

The United States hopes to see realized, while the opportunity still exists, the imaginative and epochal French concept for blending national military forces on the continent of Europe so that they will perform a single service of peace and security. I want to assure you that the pledge of support embodied in my message of April 16¹ to Monsieur Laniel still stands, and will continue available to his successor.

In Indochina our nation has long shown its deep concern by heavy financial and material aid which continues. The proposals for a united defense which we submitted to Monsieur Laniel represented on our part a momentous and grave decision. Nothing has happened here to change the attitude thus expressed, even though the lapse of time and the events which have come to pass have, of course, created a new situation. But I assure you that we shall be ready in the same spirit to open new discussions as the forthcoming French Government may deem it opportune.

I have mentioned two aspects of our relations which imperatively demand high governmental attention. You can be sure that they will be dealt with upon the foundation of the respect and affection for France which is felt by many millions of individual American citizens. Our past associations have brought sorrows and joys which have indelibly pressed their image upon the very heart of our nations and this is, on our side, a guarantee of our future attitude.

I shall be talking informally with Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden next week and I look forward to resuming with the Government of France such intimate conversations as I have had in the past both as President and previously when I served in Europe in our common cause first of liberation from one tyranny and then of defense against another tyranny.

I extend to you, my dear Mr. President, my respectful greetings.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

George M. Humphrey; Deputy to the Secretary of Treasury W. Randolph Burgess; Assistant Secretary of State Thruston Morton; General Glen E. Edgerton, Managing Director of the Export-Import Bank.

At the meeting, agreement was reached on several changes in the organization of the Export-Import Bank which will be embodied in bills to be introduced by Senators Capehart and Maybank in the Senate and by Representatives Wolcott and Spence in the House.

The changes are the result of a year's experience and study, including visits to Latin American countries by members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and a mission headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

The Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate has also had the benefit of consideration of these problems by an advisory committee of businessmen and financial representatives.

The proposed legislation would increase the lending authority of the Bank by \$500 million and strengthen the organization of the institution by creating a bipartisan board of directors of five members to be appointed by the President subject to Senate confirmation. The Chairman of the Board would be the President of the Bank, who would serve as the chief executive officer.

These proposed changes are designed to further the basic objectives of the Bank, which are to aid in financing and to facilitate the export and import trade of the United States. Such assistance is particularly important to American exporters under current conditions in world markets.

The National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems will continue to coordinate the foreign financial operations of the Export-Import Bank with those of other agencies of the Government. The President of the Bank will become a member of the NAC.

International Bank Announcements

Loan for Pakistan Gas Project

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with six private British banks participating, on June 2 made a loan of £5 million (equivalent to \$14 million) for the construction of a natural gas transmission line in West Pakistan. The project, based on the recent discovery of natural gas about 350 miles north of Karachi, will for the first time make this fuel available to industry and is of great potential importance in Pakistan's economic development.

The loan was made to the Sui Gas Transmission Company Limited. This is a newly formed company in which three-quarters of the shares will be held by private investors in Pakistan and in the United Kingdom, and one-quarter will be held

Proposed Changes in Organization of Export-Import Bank

White House press release dated June 10

President Eisenhower met at noon on June 10 with Senators Homer E. Capehart and Burnet R. Maybank, of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency; Representatives Jesse P. Wolcott and Brent Spence, of the House Committee on Banking and Currency; Secretary of the Treasury

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 26, 1954, p. 619.

by the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. Slightly more than one-half of the shares will be in Pakistani ownership; the Burmah Oil Company Ltd. and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd. of the United Kingdom will hold the remainder.

The Eastern Exchange Banks, a group of six banks doing business in Asia, have agreed to participate in today's loan, without the International Bank's guarantee, to the extent of £645,000 (\$1,806,000). This represents the first seven maturities of the loan, falling due semiannually from August 1, 1956, through August 1, 1959. The participating banks are The Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China; Eastern Bank, Limited; Grindlays Bank Limited; Lloyds Bank Limited; Mercantile Bank of India, Limited; and the National Bank of India, Limited.

The development of natural gas will provide Pakistan with an important domestic source of fuel. Pakistan has relatively meager supplies of coal and oil. Of its annual coal requirements of about 1.2 million tons, 600,000 tons are now imported; and fuel oil imports average more than 500,000 tons a year. By providing relatively cheap and abundant supplies of the new fuel, the Sui gas project will in time save large amounts of foreign exchange. In the first year of operations gas from the project will be equivalent in fuel value to some 500,000 tons of coal, and, as plant capacity is reached, it will be triple this amount.

Assistance to Railways In French West Africa

The International Bank on June 10 made a loan of \$7.5 million to assist a program being carried out to modernize the railways of French West Africa. J. P. Morgan & Co., Incorporated, has agreed to participate in the loan, without the International Bank's guarantee, to the extent of \$609,000 covering the first two maturities of the loan falling due on December 1, 1956, and June 1, 1957.

Efficient rail transport is essential to the trade and future development of French West Africa. Distances are great: the country is about three-fifths the size of the United States and eight times that of France. About three-quarters of the population of 18 million live more than 200 miles from the Atlantic coast. Without the railways the interior would be largely cut off from world commerce; traffic on the major rivers is hampered by sandbars, rapids, and wide seasonal variations in the water level, while long motor roads have proved costly to build and maintain. At present about four-fifths of the freight carried by the railways moves in overseas trade. Exports consist chiefly of cocoa, coffee, peanuts, bananas, palm oil, and other tropical products.

The railways consist of four separate meter-gage lines. They total 3,750 kilometers (2,250 miles) in

length and run inland towards the Niger River from the widely separated ports of Dakar, Conakry, Abidjan, and Porto Novo.

During the Second World War the railways suffered seriously from lack of replacement parts and could not be adequately maintained. In 1947, therefore, the French authorities began a long-range program to modernize equipment and increase operating efficiency. This program is expected to cost the equivalent of \$90 million and to be completed in 1957.

Track, telecommunications, and repair facilities are being improved, rolling stock modernized, and the existing fleet of steam locomotives is being replaced by diesels throughout the system. By the end of 1952 the equivalent of \$45 million had been spent and about half the program completed. In the meantime, the volume of freight carried has risen to a level two-thirds greater than prewar.

The bank's loan will provide funds for the purchase of 35 diesel mainline locomotives and 34 diesel switching engines for the two longest and most heavily used lines, running from Dakar, in the territory of Senegal, into the Sudan, and from Abidjan, in the Ivory Coast, into the Upper Volta. Bids for the locomotives were solicited on an international basis, and French suppliers were successful. The diesels will be cheaper to operate than the steam locomotives they will replace and can be expected to pay for themselves in about 6 years.

The loan is for a term of 12 years and carries interest at 4½ percent, including the statutory 1-percent commission charged by the bank. The equipment bought with the proceeds of the loan will be used by the French West African Railway Administration, which operates the railways under the supervision of the Central Office for French Overseas Railways. The Central Office is the borrower, and the loan is guaranteed by the Republic of France.

After having been approved by the bank's executive directors, the loan documents were signed by His Excellency Henri Bonnet, Ambassador of France to the United States, on behalf of the Republic of France; by Frederic Surleau, President of the Central Office for French Overseas Railways, on behalf of the Central Office; by Henri Cuneo, Inspector General of Public Works for French Overseas Territories, on behalf of the French West African Railway Administration; and by Eugene R. Black, President, on behalf of the International Bank.

Turkey's Armed Forces Get \$30 Million in FOA Funds

An allotment of \$30 million to provide Turkey's armed forces with such items as jet fuel, lubricants, tires and batteries, and clothing was announced on June 15 by the Foreign Operations

Administration. This allotment is in addition to substantial support being given Turkey in direct military aid and \$46 million previously allotted in defense support funds to bolster the defenses of Turkey.

While Turkey still is a relatively underdeveloped country, Foa said, a combination of equipment, supplies, and technical exchange provided the country in the last 6 years has resulted in a tremendous expansion and development of the Turkish economy. Virtually all elements of Turkish national life have benefited from the ambitious economic development program upon which Turkey has embarked.

In furtherance of programs to build a stronger Turkey, the United States since 1948 has provided \$353,500,000 (including the June 15 allotment) in economic assistance, plus additional millions in direct military aid.

FOA Authorizes Funds for Korean Power Plants

The Foreign Operations Administration on June 10 announced a \$30 million authorization for building three new thermal-electric power plants in the Republic of Korea which will add 100,000 kilowatts to South Korea's power supply.

The power project is the largest single authorization approved for South Korea, and will provide a foundation upon which the country's overall economic rehabilitation may be achieved. It and other power projects now under way will quadruple the country's available power.

The \$30 million authorization brings to \$158 million the expenditures so far authorized out of this fiscal year's \$200 million Foa funds. Additional purchase requests from Korea, totaling \$42 million, are being processed to complete the fiscal 1954 program.

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Financial Report and Accounts for the Year Ended 31 December 1953 and Report of the Board of Auditors. E/ICEF/261. May 3, 1954. 53 pp. mimeo.

Draft Convention on Tourist and Commercial Vehicles Used for the Transport of Tourists, Prepared by the Government of France. E/CONF.16/15. May 5, 1954. 32 pp. mimeo.

Draft Conventions on (i) the Concessions and Facilities to be Granted to Tourists, and (ii) the Importation of Tourist Publicity Documents and Material, Prepared by the French Government. E/CONF.16/16. May 5, 1954. 13 pp. mimeo.

Security Council

Letter Dated 22 April 1954 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council. S/3204. April 22, 1954. 1 p. mimeo.

Letter Dated 26 April 1954 from the Representative of Israel Addressed to the President of the Security Council. S/3210. May 6, 1954. 4 pp. mimeo.

Summary Statement by the Secretary-General on Matters of Which the Security Council is Seized and on the Stage Reached in Their Consideration. S/3207. May 3, 1954. 2 pp. mimeo.

Letter Dated 3 May 1954 from the Permanent Representative of Syria to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council. S/3208. May 3, 1954. 1 p. mimeo.

Anticipated Increase in Refugee Migration for 1954 and 1955

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

by George L. Warren

The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, established on the initiative of the U.S. Government at Brussels in 1951, is engaged in facilitating the movement of migrants and refugees out of Europe who would not otherwise be moved. The Committee, which had met in previous sessions at Brussels, Washington, Venice, and Geneva, held its seventh session at Geneva from April 26 through May 1, 1954.¹ Subcommittees on draft rules and regulations and on finance met between April 20 and 24 and during the session to prepare the work of the plenary session of the Committee.

The 24 member governments participating in the seventh session were:

Argentina	Greece
Australia	Israel
Austria	Italy
Belgium	Luxembourg
Brazil	Netherlands
Canada	Norway
Chile	Paraguay
Colombia	Sweden
Costa Rica	Switzerland
Denmark	Uruguay
France	United States
Germany	Venezuela

The United Kingdom, Spain, the Allied Military Government of Trieste, and the Holy See were represented by observers. The Sovereign Order of Malta, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Labor Organization, the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Council of Europe, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, and nongovernmental organizations and voluntary agencies interested in migration were also represented by observers.

¹ For articles on the Committee's previous sessions, see BULLETIN of Feb. 4, 1952, p. 169; Apr. 21, 1952, p. 638; July 21, 1952, p. 107; Jan. 12, 1953, p. 64; June 22, 1953, p. 879; and Jan. 4, 1954, p. 26.

Director's Statement

Former American Ambassador Hugh Gibson, Director of the Migration Committee, made a challenging statement to the government members at the opening meeting of the session. Citing the low volume of movement, 77,626 in 1952 and 87,501 in 1953, he pointed out that a gradual increase in movement had taken place since July 1953 and that 40,328 persons had been assisted to find new homes overseas by the Committee in the first 4 months of 1954, clearly indicating a total movement for the year under the Committee's auspices of approximately 120,000.

The operations of the Committee in the first 2 years had taken place during a period of low worldwide migration when immigration countries for economic and political reasons had reduced their intake of immigrants. The Committee therefore found itself under the necessity of developing and encouraging new bilateral arrangements between governments to reestablish the higher flow of migrants that had taken place with international assistance during the period from 1947 to 1951. Mr. Gibson stated that the increased rate of movement already noted in recent months had resulted not only from the action of governments in increasing their intake but largely from special services provided by the Committee. The Committee, he said, had assisted governments, at their request, to improve their emigration and immigration procedures and had supplied special services in the way of vocational and language training and information to migrants concerning immigration opportunities. A large part of the increased movement had resulted, he stated, from the Committee's recent efforts in Italy and Greece, particularly to assist the reunion of families of migrants who had gone in earlier years to Australia, Argentina, and Brazil.

Mr. Gibson estimated that the present movement of migrants assisted by the Committee con-

Statement by Secretary Dulles¹

Mr. Chairman and honorable delegates, I welcome this opportunity of addressing the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Your work is of intense interest to the United States, an interest which is proved by the presence of our United States legislators here, particularly Congressman Reed and Congressman Walters, at so many of your sessions.

I have come here merely to confirm, if any confirmation is needed, the interest which the United States takes and which has already been so fully shown.

Your Committee, by reason of its structure, the evidence of which is here about us, is well fitted to work out the solution of the urgent problems of excess populations and of their productive resettlement. You are the only intergovernmental organization which, if adequately supported by its members, can actually solve some of those difficult problems.

There are many facts which show that your organization is dealing successfully with its problems. I may mention only a few. I note that the number of member governments has increased, so that there are now 24. I note the fact that those member governments have determined to establish this Committee on a more permanent basis through the adoption of a constitution.

Already, I understand, your Committee is responsible for assisting the movement of one-third of the yearly total number of migrants from continental Europe. The scope of your work is now being extended and your activities are being broadened. All of this represents solid progress and confirms the farsighted intentions of your founders.

I alluded a moment ago to the interest which the United States Government has taken in this work. That interest derives from many factors. We know that the growth of excess populations creates unemployment with all its disturbing implications. The problems with which you are dealing are not unrelated to the defense and the security of the entire free world.

All of this is of course of very direct interest to the United States. Also, I may add, the humanitarian character of your task has a strong appeal. The American people have always had a very deep sympathy with whatever alleviates the sufferings of mankind. These are a few of the many considerations which justify continued United States support of this organization.

I may add that it is encouraging to know that this compact and active organization, with its clear-cut agenda, is in fact able to reach constructive decisions on its vital tasks. I hope the same may prove true of the other Conference which I am attending which goes on in this same building.

What you are doing here is proof that the free governments can effectively join together in the solution of great human problems. In this troubled world where so many suffer and where so much suspicion reigns, your Committee's work stands out as a welcome shining light.

¹Made before the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration at Geneva, Switzerland, on Apr. 30.

stituted one-third of the total annual migration from Europe and stated that he looked forward confidently to an annual movement under the Committee's auspices of 250,000. This target would present a challenge to the government members to make sufficient resources available to the Committee to permit full exploitation of the opportunities for migration presently envisaged. The Committee found practical application of Mr. Gibson's observations in its later consideration of the program proposed for 1955, which envisaged the movement of 156,700 under a total budget of \$50,035,675.

Mr. Gibson urged the governments also to give early consideration to acceptance of the constitution proposed for the Committee at its sixth session. He reported that eight governments—Australia, Canada, Denmark, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland—had already notified the Committee of their acceptance of the constitution, which will give the Committee a more formal status and an anticipated life span of at least 3 years from the date of entry into force. Acceptances by 16 governments are required with other conditions to bring the constitution into force.

The response to the Director's statement was sympathetic although, as might be expected, many government representatives stated that no financial commitments with respect to future years could be made at that time. For the United States, Chauncey W. Reed, Francis E. Walter, and Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton, alternate U. S. representatives, assured the Committee of continuing United States interest and support. Mr. Reed stated that the question of United States participation in the Committee in accordance with the constitution adopted at the previous session at Venice was currently under consideration by the Congress and predicted early favorable action. Mr. Walter spoke of the lively interest in the Committee in the U. S. Congress, and Mrs. Houghton presented a summary statement of the activities of the United States Escapee Program and cited the close collaboration existing between the program and the Committee as a practical demonstration of United States support of the Committee's efforts. Approximately 10,000 recent escapees from Communist areas had been assisted in resettlement by the joint action of the Committee and the Escapee Program.

In attendance at the meeting of April 30 were Richard Casey, Minister of State for External Affairs, Australia; John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, United States of America; Paul-Henri Spaak, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Belgium; and Adrian Pelt, Director, European Office of the United Nations. Mr. Casey and Mr. Dulles addressed the Committee briefly, confirmed the interest of their respective governments in its work, and commended the Committee for its efforts to find solutions for a great human problem.

The report of the Director for 1953 disclosed that the sources and destinations of 87,501 persons moved during that year were as follows:

From		To	
Austria	5,531	Argentina	9,022
Germany	40,325	Australia	13,326
Greece	4,096	Brazil	12,702
Italy	20,975	Canada	36,922
Netherlands	2,296	Chile	776
Shanghai-Far East	3,259	Israel	2,389
Trieste	1,367	U. S. A.	6,365
Others	9,652	Venezuela	3,921
		Others	2,078
	87,501		87,501

Of the 165,165 persons moved by the Committee between February 1, 1952, and December 31, 1953, 47,000 were refugees under the mandate of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

On recommendation by the *Ad Hoc* Subcommittee on Draft Rules and Regulations the Committee approved the texts of rules of procedure for the Council and for the Executive Committee. After the constitution comes into force, these rules of procedure will be referred to the Council and to the Executive Committee for adoption. Draft staff and financial regulations were referred to a later session of the Committee.

Acting on the report of the Subcommittee on Finance, composed of Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States, the Committee accepted the financial report for 1953, which showed income of \$2,525,490 to cover administrative expenditure and income of \$30,886,080 for operational expenditure, a total of \$33,411,570. Administrative expenditure totaled \$1,970,302 and operational expenditure \$23,885,114, totaling \$25,855,416.

Revised Budget for 1954

The Subcommittee on Finance recommended and the Migration Committee adopted a revised budget and plan of expenditure for 1954 envisaging the movement of 118,400 persons. Administrative expenditure of \$2,580,437 and operational expenditure of \$37,413,636 were approved, making the total budget adopted for 1954 \$39,994,073.

The adoption of this budget presented the Committee with a challenge to raise \$2,588,109 in additional resources to cover an anticipated deficit in that amount in the 1954 operations. The Committee was convinced that the anticipated deficit would develop in fact because the movement of persons in the first 4 months of 1954 totaled 40,328 and there was thus every indication that the estimate of 118,400 in movement would be achieved in 1954. In response to this situation the Australian representative reported an offer of an additional contribution of \$400 thousand for 1954. Denmark offered an additional \$30 thousand and

Norway \$14 thousand. The United States representative, W. Hallam Tuck, offered on behalf of the United States an additional contribution totaling \$1 million: \$500 thousand to be made available on the basis of movement achieved in excess of 110,000 up to a maximum of 118,400, and \$500 thousand in consideration of comparable contributions by other member governments to cover the anticipated deficit.

In offering this special contribution, the United States representative stressed again the need for additional contributions by member governments to the operational expenditure and expressed the hope that the additional contributions offered at the seventh session would inspire other member governments to make comparable contributions. He also stressed the necessity for placing a larger proportion of the movement achieved on a revolving-fund basis and urged that more of the migrants be encouraged to contribute under partial payment plans toward the costs of their transport.

The Migration Committee recognized the close relationship between the anticipated deficit in income for 1954 and the need for the Committee to establish the cash reserve proposed by the Director. The Director pointed out that such a cash reserve would be needed in the fall months of 1954, if the Committee were to be in a position to finance its operations in 1955 and to make the advance payments required. The Director urged all governments to make payments on administrative and operational contributions earlier and in any event to make reimbursements for movements effected by the Committee immediately on presentation of invoices.

The Director originally proposed the establishment of a cash reserve of \$3 million: \$1 million to be allocated as a reserve for administrative expenditure and \$2 million for operational expenditure. Contributions were to be made to the reserve for administrative expenditure by all member governments in accordance with the scale of contributions to the administrative expenditure already in effect. However, the Director proposed that only the emigration and immigration countries contribute to the cash reserve for operational expenditure. The United States representative advised the Committee that the United States would give serious consideration to the request for a one-time contribution to a cash reserve on a loan basis in addition to the regular contribution, provided all member governments were asked to contribute approximately on the scale of contributions to administrative expenditure to the total of the proposed \$3 million cash reserve. This proposal met with some resistance from the so-called sympathizing government members and the administration on the ground that the sympathizing governments were not prepared to share in the costs of operations. After discussion the United States view prevailed and was embodied in the

final resolution adopted by the Migration Committee requesting governments to provide funds in the amount of \$3 million on a loan basis for a cash reserve. There was general acceptance by the members of the Committee of the necessity for establishing such a cash reserve during 1954.

Plans for 1955

In considering the proposed plan of operations and the budget and plan of expenditure for 1955, the Subcommittee on Finance and the Migration Committee recognized that their action was of a preliminary nature because of the necessary budgetary procedures of many of the government members and that final action on the 1955 budget would be taken at the next session. After much discussion an estimate of movement during 1955 totaling 156,700, including a movement of 50,000 to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, was tentatively adopted. It was recognized that this estimate would require a substantial increase in the budget of the Committee and consequently presented a challenge to the member governments to increase their contributions. The estimate of movement, however, appeared justified by the current high rate of movement in 1954 and the movements already planned and anticipated for 1955. An administrative budget of \$2,491,728 and an operational budget of \$47,543,947, making a total budget of \$50,035,675, was adopted subject to final review and determination at the eighth session.

No commitments were made at the seventh session by member governments with respect to their contributions for 1955. The Committee, however, had knowledge of the proposal currently under consideration by the U.S. Congress that the United States contribution be \$11,700,000 for that period. Assuming a United States contribution of \$11,700,000, the budget as tentatively adopted called for an increase in contributions by other governments over their present contributions of \$6,949,281.

The Committee was interested to learn that substantial success had been achieved since the previous session in reducing the refugee population in Trieste to below 3,000. In the same period the movement of European refugees out of Shanghai through Hong Kong to overseas countries of resettlement was proceeding at a slower pace. The Australian and Netherlands representatives reported to the Committee that special efforts would be made during 1954 and 1955 to increase the current movement of migrants from the Netherlands to Australia by 15,000 under special arrangements requiring the full support of the Committee.

Baron Eric O. van Boetzelaer (Netherlands) presided at the opening session in the absence of Fernando Nilo de Alvarenga (Brazil), chairman of the sixth session. The following officers were

unanimously elected to serve at the seventh session: Chairman, J. Serres (France); First Vice Chairman, D. Uzcatogui-Ramirez (Venezuela); Second Vice Chairman, Karl Fritzer (Austria); Rapporteur, A. Donnadiou (Costa Rica). Baron van Boetzelaer served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Finance and Ralph L. Harry (Australia) as chairman of the Subcommittee on Draft Rules and Regulations.

The United States was represented at the session by W. Hallam Tuck, member of the Personnel Task Force for the Commission on Organization of the executive branch of the Government. Alternate representatives were: Chauncey W. Reed and Francis E. Walter, both Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton, Assistant Director for Refugees, Migration, and Voluntary Assistance, Foreign Operations Administration. Advisers were: George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State; Walter M. Besterman, staff member, and William R. Foley, Committee counsel, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives; Richard R. Brown, Director, Office of Field Coordination, U.S. Escapee Program, FOA, Frankfurt; Col. Dayton H. Frost, Chief, International Programs Division on Refugees, FOA; Albert F. Canwell, Spokane, Wash.; and Robert Hubbell, Labor Specialist, U.S. European Regional Organization (FOA), Paris. Harold D. Cooley, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, visited the Committee at its opening session.

The eighth session of the Committee will be held in November 1954 at Geneva unless the coming into force of the constitution requires that a meeting be called earlier.

• Mr. Warren, author of the above article, is Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State.

U.S. Encouragement of International Travel

*Following is the text of a letter dated June 8 addressed by Clarence B. Randall, special consultant to the President, to Jacob K. Javits, Member of the House of Representatives:*¹

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 8, 1954.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JAVITS: Following through further with respect to your letter of May 19, 1954,² I am happy to give you this summary of

¹ Reprinted from *Cong. Rec.* of June 15, 1954, p. A4336.

² Not printed here.

steps taken by the executive branch with respect to the encouragement of international travel.

One of the most significant recent developments has been the emphasis which the President placed on the expansion of international travel in his message to the Congress of March 30 on the subject of foreign economic policy.³ After stressing the cultural, social, and economic advantages to the whole free world of international travel, he stated:

I shall instruct the appropriate agencies and departments, at home and abroad, to consider how they can facilitate international travel. They will be asked to take action to simplify governmental procedures relating to customs, visas, passports, exchange, or monetary restrictions and other regulations that sometimes harass the traveler.

A bill, H. R. 8352, was introduced by Congressman Frelinghuysen to give effect to the one specific legislative recommendation made by the President in connection with international travel. This bill would increase the duty-free allowance for tourists from \$500 to \$1,000, exercisable every 6 months.

To implement further his recommendations in this field, the President has recently sent memoranda to the four principal agencies concerned with international travel, namely, the Departments of State, Commerce, Treasury, and Justice, requesting them to take the necessary steps to carry out his recommendations.

As a further follow-up on this section of the President's message I have asked the Departments of Agriculture, and of Health, Education, and Welfare to reexamine the provisions of the plant and animal quarantine laws and the Pure Food and Drug Act, and the administration therefor, to determine whether there are any inequities in the application of these laws to foreign commodities as compared with domestic commodities. It is understood with the staff of each of these departments that these reviews although more general than the tourist problem do cover any aspects of these laws or their enforcement which affect tourists.

Consistent with the President's emphasis on the importance of international travel is the request by the Department of Commerce, now pending before the Congress, for a small amount of money with which to reestablish an office devoted exclusively to the development of tourist travel. If this money is appropriated by the Congress, it will be possible to do considerably more in the way of providing adequate statistics on travel, determining what factors tend to hinder travel, reviewing foreign regulations and procedures with a view to suggesting through diplomatic channels changes in these regulations and procedures which would facilitate travel, and so on.

³ BULLETIN of Apr. 19, 1954, p. 602.

Simplified Customs Procedures

The Bureau of Customs has instituted various new procedures designed to make it easier for travelers to pass through the United States customs. Examination of travelers' personal luggage, particularly that accompanying the traveler, has been reduced to the minimum consistent with adequate enforcement of our laws. Within the past 2 years steps have also been taken to reduce the formalities involved when a tourist makes a purchase abroad and sends it home separately. An experiment which holds great promise has been underway for some time in conjunction with Canada. This is a procedure whereby travelers leaving certain Canadian points and going directly to the United States are examined before leaving Canada, and are thus not delayed at all upon reaching the United States border. This procedure may be extended to other nearby countries if the necessary cooperation of those countries can be secured. At present officials of the Treasury Department do not think such a system would prove feasible for the more remote countries, for example, Western European or South American countries.

Representatives of this country are actively engaged in discussions with those of other countries, both through individual meetings and through multilateral conferences, to find ways of simplifying border formalities and otherwise to facilitate international travel. We are at the present time, for example, represented at the United Nations Conference on Customs Formalities for the Temporary Importation of Private Vehicles and for Tourism. This conference is seeking to reach agreement on a protocol to the Geneva Conference of 1948 for the purpose of establishing uniform regulations covering automobiles and auto travel and to arrive at international agreement on the regulations covering personal belongings accompanying a tourist. The United States will also shortly send its delegation to the Fifth Inter-American Travel Conference, to be held this year, June 10-20, in Panama. Active consideration is now being given by this Government to a recommendation for placing tourism on the agenda of the forthcoming Inter-American Conference of Ministers of Finance or Economy, to be held at Rio de Janeiro.

In addition to discussing the problems of tourist travel with other nations at conferences, this Government is now taking advantage of all opportunities as they arise to impress on other nations the importance we attach to international travel and to urge upon them the appropriate actions to encourage such travel. You are no doubt aware that the President, the Secretary of Commerce, the Under Secretary of Commerce, the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and I all met with the delegation of lead-

ing European travel officials, members of the European Travel Commission, which was recently in this country.

Travel Talks With Foreign Officials

The Department of State has established new procedures to insure that the question of international travel will be discussed wherever appropriate with visiting foreign officials, as was done in the case of the recent visit of high-level Spanish officials. Steps are now being taken by the Department of State to see that the basic standing instruction to all our foreign service personnel will take specific account of the emphasis placed on international travel by the President. This will further insure that the subject will be given adequate attention in future discussions with other nations.

One special aspect of our international discussion on the question of international travel pertains to the visa which some nations, including this one, require for entry by nonresidents of the country. The necessity for a visa is often a burden to the traveler, particularly if he intends to visit several countries, each of which requires a visa. The State Department has been successful in securing the mitigation of certain onerous regulations connected with the visa or the outright discontinuance of the visa requirement for American travelers to a number of countries, including all of the countries of Western Europe.

Another way in which this Government can help other countries stimulate tourist travel is through giving these other governments, when they request it, technical advice on travel and tourist accommodations. The Department of Commerce is the agency which provides this technical assistance. With the use of funds of the Foreign Operations Administration the Department of Commerce within the past year has sent two travel technicians abroad, and two persons have been brought to this country from abroad, to study our methods of accommodating tourists, publicity, statistics, and other technical aspects of the field.

No doubt you are aware that the Department of Commerce has recently established a travel advisory board composed of 20 high-level representatives of the travel and tourist industry. This committee was organized too recently to have had any significant impact on the Government as yet, but there is good reason to hope that it will prove very beneficial.

Another step taken by the executive branch which indirectly should assist international travel concerns the President's recommendations for revisions in the tax laws, now embodied in H. R. 8800. This bill would provide certain tax incentives to American corporations for investing overseas. These incentives would tend to make it more attractive for American hotel corporations to build hotels abroad. Lack of hotel facilities or

inadequate hotels is, as you know, one of the factors frequently cited as a deterrent to greater travel abroad.

One further area where the efforts of this country, combined with those of other free nations, may have a very marked effect on international travel is that of currency convertibility. At the present time, the inability of travelers to convert foreign currencies readily from one to another is an inconvenience, particularly if they are going to visit two or more countries. One of the basic objectives of this administration as enunciated in the President's message on foreign economic policy is the creation of those conditions in the world which will permit major currencies to become convertible. International travel will be greatly facilitated thereby.

In concluding this, may I mention that the issuance of passports, as an indication of the prospective level of international travel by Americans, is already very high. Whereas in previous years, the rate of 50,000 or more passports issued in 1 month was not attained until April or even May, in preparation for this summer's travel, over 50,000 passports were issued this year in the month of March, and it seems possible that we might reach an all-time peak of over 60,000 passports issued in the month of May. This is a hopeful sign for a very big tourist year.

I agree fully that the promotion of tourist travel is of great significance to this Nation and to all other free nations. I shall be glad to do anything that I can to be of assistance.

Please let me know if I can be of any further service to you.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE B. RANDALL,
Special Consultant to the President.

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy: 83d Congress, 1st Session

Tensions Within the Soviet Captive Countries: Soviet Zone of Germany. Prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. S. Doc. 70, Part 3, July 28, 1953, VIII, pp. 53-84.

83d Congress, 1st and 2d Sessions

Stockpile and Accessibility of Strategic and Critical Materials to the United States in Time of War. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels Economics of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs pursuant to S. Res. 143, a Resolution To Investigate the Accessibility and Availability of Supplies of Critical Raw Materials. Part 7, Tariffs and Taxes and Their Relationship to Critical Materials, October 23, 1953; February 24 and March 5, 1954, VI, 320 pp.

83d Congress, 2d Session

- Review of the United Nations Charter. Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Proposals To Amend or Otherwise Modify Existing International Peace and Security Organizations, Including the United Nations. Part 2, February 12, 1954, Akron, Ohio, III, pp. 63-150.
- First International Instrument Congress and Exposition. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on H. J. Res. 257, Authorizing the President To Invite the States of the Union and Foreign Countries To Participate in the First International Instrument Congress and Exposition To Be Held in Philadelphia, Pa., from September 13 to September 25, 1954. March 11, 1954, III, 18 pp.
- Review of the United Nations Charter. Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Proposals To Amend or Otherwise Modify Existing International Peace and Security Organizations, Including the United Nations. Part 3, April 10, 1954, Milwaukee, Wis., IV, pp. 151-318.
- The Problem of Membership in the United Nations. Staff Study No. 3, Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Committee print. May 21, 1954, V, 20 pp.
- Federal Republic of Germany. Report to accompany S. 1573. S. Rept. 1391, May 24, 1954, 4 pp.
- Foreign Service and Departmental Personnel Practices of the Department of State. Sixteenth Intermediate Report of the House Committee on Government Operations. H. Rept. 1673, May 25, 1954, III, 24 pp.
- Authorizing the Erection of a Memorial Gift from the People of the Netherlands. Report to accompany H. J. Res. 356. H. Rept. 1681, May 26, 1954, 3 pp.
- Protocol Amending the Slavery Convention of September 25, 1926. Message from the President Transmitting a Protocol Amending the Slavery Convention, Signed at Geneva on September 25, 1926, Was Opened for Signature at the Headquarters of the United Nations, New York, on December 7, 1953, and Was Signed on Behalf of the United States on December 16, 1953. S. Exec. F, May 27, 1954, 7 pp.
- Organizing Communism in the United States. H. Rept. 1694, May 28, 1954, VII, 150 pp.
- International Labor Conference. Message from the President Transmitting Authentic Texts of a Recommendation (No. 91) Concerning Collective Agreements and a Recommendation (No. 92) Concerning Voluntary Conciliation and Arbitration, Both of Which Were Adopted on June 29, 1951, by the International Labor Conference at Its 34th Session, Held at Geneva from June 6 to 29, 1951. H. Doc. 406, May 28, 1954, 10 pp.
- International Labor Conference. Message from the President Transmitting Authentic Text of a Convention (No. 102) Concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security, Adopted on June 28, 1952, by the International Labor Conference at Its 35th Session, Held at Geneva from June 4 to 28, 1952. H. Doc. 407, May 28, 1954, 30 pp.
- Extending the Authorization for Funds for the Hospitalization of Certain Veterans in the Philippines. Report to accompany H. R. 8044. S. Rept. 1480, June 2, 1954, 13 pp.
- Providing for a Continuance of Civil Government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Report to accompany S. 3318. S. Rept. 1482, June 2, 1954, 4 pp.
- Inviting Nurse Genevieve de Galard-Terraube To Be an Honored Guest of the United States. Report to accompany H. Con. Res. 236. S. Rept. 1507, June 4, 1954, 2 pp.
- Report of the President's Adviser on Personnel Management on Pay and Personnel Practices of Federal Employees Stationed Overseas. First Intermediate Report to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service by the Subcommittee on Manpower Utilization. H. Rept. 1760, June 7, 1954, IX, 31 pp.

- Proposed Draft Language for the Refugee Relief Program. Communication from the President Transmitting Proposed Draft Language for the Fiscal Year 1955 for the Refugee Relief Program. H. Doc. 422, June 7, 1954, 2 pp.
- Authorizing the Appropriation of Additional Funds To Complete the International Peace Garden, N. Dak. Report to accompany H. R. 3986. S. Rept. 1533, June 8, 1954, 4 pp.
- Providing for a Continuance of Civil Government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Report to accompany H. R. 8754. H. Rept. 1767, June 8, 1954, 5 pp.
- Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce To Further Extend Certain Charters of Vessels to Citizens of the Philippines. Report to accompany S. J. Res. 72. H. Rept. 1769, June 8, 1954, 2 pp.
- Adoption of Constitutional Amendments. Report to accompany S. Res. 144. S. Rept. 1534, June 9, 1954, 2 pp.
- Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. Report to accompany S. 2475. H. Rept. 1776, June 9, 1954, 12 pp.
- Trade Agreements Extension. Report to accompany H. R. 9474. H. Rept. 1777, June 10, 1954, 4 pp.
- Communications Act Amendments Implementing Safety of Life at Sea Convention. Report to accompany S. 2453. S. Rept. 1583, June 11, 1954, 21 pp.
- Permitting Investment of Funds of Insurance Companies Organized Within the District of Columbia in Obligations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Report to accompany H. R. 8974. H. Rept. 1814, June 11, 1954, 3 pp.
- Amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act Relating to the Labeling of Packages Containing Foreign-Produced Trout. Report to accompany S. 2033. H. Rept. 1850, June 11, 1954, 10 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Grant Economic Assistance Agreement With Jordan

Press release 319 dated June 15

The first basic grant economic-assistance agreement between the U.S. Government and an Arab State was concluded at Amman, Jordan, on May 13, the date of the note of acceptance from the Jordanian Foreign Minister. The agreement complements the point 4 general agreement of February 1951 and for the first time provides for U.S. contributions to projects of a capital development nature, as provided from funds for special economic assistance authorized and appropriated by the U.S. Congress.

It is generally similar to standard agreements of its kind concluded by the United States with other recipient nations throughout the world. It sets the framework within which economic aid will be extended. Within certain limitations, the total to be committed in the current fiscal year

will depend upon the nature and number of individual projects that are mutually agreed upon between the two Governments.

Projects currently under consideration are in the general fields of irrigation, exploration and utilization of ground water, range development including the extension of water spreading, afforestation, and road construction.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Copyrights

Universal copyright convention and three Protocols annexed thereto.¹ Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Accession deposited: Pakistan, April 28, 1954.

Cultural Relations

Agreement for facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational, scientific and cultural character, and protocol. Opened for signature at Lake Success July 15, 1949. Enters into force: August 12, 1954.²

North Atlantic Treaty

Agreement Between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty Regarding the Status of Their Forces. Signed at London June 19, 1951. Entered into force August 23, 1953. TIAS 2846.

Ratification deposited: United Kingdom, May 13, 1954. Accession deposited: Turkey, May 18, 1954.

Protocol on the Status of International Military Headquarters. Signed at Paris August 28, 1952. Entered into force April 10, 1954.

Ratification deposited: Turkey, May 18, 1954.

Proclaimed by the President: June 7, 1954.

Telecommunications

International telecommunication convention and six annexes. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954.³

Ratification deposited: Norway, May 11, 1954.

Trade and Commerce

Third protocol⁴ of rectifications and modifications to texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (TIAS 1700). Done at Geneva October 24, 1953.

Signature: Pakistan, May 18, 1954.

War

Geneva convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field; Geneva convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of the armed forces at sea;

Geneva convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war;

Geneva convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war.

Dated at Geneva August 12, 1949.⁵

¹ Not in force.

² Not in force for the United States.

Ratification deposited: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, May 10, 1954.

Weights and Measures

Convention amending the convention relating to weights and measures. Dated at Sèvres October 6, 1921. Entered into force February 10, 1923. TS 673.

Adherence deposited: Brazil, April 14, 1954.

BILATERAL

Honduras

Military assistance agreement. Signed at Tegucigalpa May 20, 1954. Entered into force May 20, 1954.

Jordan

Agreement relating to economic assistance. Effected by exchange of notes at Amman May 4 and May 13, 1954. Entered into force May 13, 1954.

Lebanon

Agreement amending Articles II and VI of the program agreement for technical cooperation of June 26, 1952, as amended (TIAS 2659 and 2821). Signed at Beirut April 30, 1954. Entered into force April 30, 1954.

Agreement amending Articles VI and VII of the program agreement for technical cooperation of June 26, 1952, as amended. Signed at Beirut April 30, 1954. Entered into force April 30, 1954.

Norway

Memorandum of understanding on conflicting claims to enemy property. Signed at Washington June 21, 1952. Entered into force: April 27, 1954 (upon receipt by each Government of notification from the other Government of approval).

STATUS LIST⁶

Agreement on the Status of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, National Representatives and International Staff⁷

Opened for signature at Ottawa September 20, 1951. Signed September 20, 1951 by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. Signed October 2, 1953 by Turkey.

State	Date of deposit of instrument of ratification	Date of entry into force
Denmark.....	May 7, 1952.....	May 18, 1954
Iceland.....	May 11, 1953.....	May 18, 1954
Netherlands.....	July 14, 1952 ⁸	May 18, 1954
Norway.....	February 24, 1953.....	May 18, 1954
United States of America.....	July 24, 1953 ⁹	May 18, 1954
Turkey.....	May 18, 1954.....	May 18, 1954

³ As of June 15, 1954.

⁴ Declaration by the Governments of Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands regarding this agreement signed September 20, 1951. An extract was signed by the Council Deputies on December 12, 1951 regarding discrepancies in the English and French texts of articles 14 and 16 of this agreement. An agreed minute was signed by the Council Deputies on April 4, 1952 at London modifying this agreement.

⁵ Instrument of ratification included the declaration.

⁶ Instrument of ratification included the extract.

Initiation of Recommendations in Wriston Report

Following are the texts of a letter of June 15 from Secretary Dulles to Dr. Henry M. Wriston, chairman of the Public Committee on Personnel, and a letter of May 18 from the Committee to Mr. Dulles transmitting the Committee's report.

LETTER FROM SECRETARY DULLES TO DR. WRISTON¹

Press release 322 dated June 15

JUNE 15, 1954

DEAR DR. WRISTON: I have received and carefully studied the report of the Public Committee on Personnel transmitted by your letter of May 18. At my instruction, the report has been printed and is being released today.²

I should like to commend the Committee for the thorough and penetrating manner in which its public-spirited members, under your able chairmanship, have dealt with the very difficult personnel and administrative problems of the Department of State. It was the complexity and vital importance of these problems, most of which have been recognized—but left unsolved—for some years, that persuaded me to seek appropriate corrective recommendations from this group of outstanding private citizens.

I felt that this study could not be attempted while the Department and Foreign Service were undergoing the dislocations of the reduction-in-force necessitated by budgetary restrictions. With that obstacle passed, we could proceed. Accordingly, I share the view of the Committee that now is the time for action.

I have been particularly concerned that the professional service, which bears the responsibility for carrying out the vastly intricate business of

foreign affairs, has not expanded and broadened to meet the growing demands of today in the manner envisioned by the Congress when it passed the Foreign Service Act of 1946. I am, therefore, particularly pleased that the Committee's recommendations not only embody an immediate program for strengthening this service, but also provide a long-range method of maintaining that essential strength.

As a first and fundamental step, I have today recommended, and the President has agreed to the nomination of Mr. Charles E. Saltzman as Under Secretary of State for Administration. Mr. Saltzman, who served as one of the members of the Public Committee, is also a former Assistant Secretary of State. He will have the duty of initiating and directing the execution of this new program. Under my supervision he will also be in complete charge of the administrative offices and operations of the Department, and will, of course, have my full support in carrying out his mission.

Mr. Thruston Morton, with exceptional ability and devotion to public service, has been carrying the additional job of Acting Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. Mr. Saltzman's appointment will enable Mr. Morton once again to devote full time to his duties as Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations. I am grateful to him for the administrative leadership he has provided during the interim period while the Committee was formulating its recommendations.

Mr. Saltzman believes, and I concur, that this new program can be fully launched and well underway by December 31, 1954, at which time the statutory authority for the position of Under Secretary of State for Administration expires, and at which time Mr. Saltzman intends to return to his business, from which he is taking a leave of absence.

I heartily endorse the two key recommendations made by the Committee:

A. Integration of the personnel of the Departmental home service and the Foreign Service where their functions and responsibilities converge.

B. The bold and imaginative recruitment and scholarship program whereby the Foreign Service

¹ Press release 322 also contains the text of a message, not printed here, from Secretary Dulles to personnel of the Department and Foreign Service concerning the report.

² *Toward a Stronger Foreign Service: Report of the Secretary of State's Public Committee on Personnel, June 1954*, Department of State publication 5458, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., 30 cents.

would obtain a constant and adequate flow of qualified young men and women representing the best cross section of American life. Under this program, members of Congress would in the future have a part in selecting the candidates for the Foreign Service Corps, much as they now do for West Point and Annapolis.

I have issued instructions to initiate these forwardlooking recommendations. Specifically, I have taken the following actions:

1. By signing certain orders, I have accepted as valid your central recommendation that those officers of the Departmental home service and the Foreign Service who perform similar and related functions should be integrated into one personnel system. Such a system, as you point out, can fortunately be built, in large part, on the excellent existing statutory foundation of the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

2. I believe, with the Committee, that the national interest dictates the creation of a Foreign Service Officer Corps (Fso) that is more flexible and broadly versatile than at present. We must take into particular account the need for specialized skills in the solution of the vastly complex problems of today. I have directed that this be done.

3. I have accepted the Committee's recommendation that a substantial number of Departmental positions, probably about 1,450, be designated for staffing by the Fso Corps, and that the present incumbents of those positions be encouraged to enter the new Foreign Service to serve at home or abroad, as the Department's needs require.

4. I also agree that all officer positions abroad under the Chiefs of Mission should be similarly designated, and members of the Foreign Service Reserve (Fsr) Corps and such of the Foreign Service Staff (Fss) Corps as presently hold those positions should likewise be encouraged to enter the Fso group.

5. I have endorsed the Committee's recommendations that a revised and liberalized examination process should be instituted to effect these transfers, which I expect will raise the strength of the Fso Corps from about 1,300 to nearly 4,000.

6. I have issued instructions to consult with appropriate members of the Congress regarding the Committee's report and its recommendations with the objective of putting into effect as quickly as possible the fundamental recommendations of the Committee related to the proposed integration program. I understand from your report that certain minor amendments to existing legislation will be necessary to carry out this program.

7. I have also directed that action be taken to seek legislative authority for the scholarship program proposed by the Committee. This program, providing for two-year scholarship awards to outstanding young men and women after competitive examinations, would insure the constant renewal

of the Foreign Service from colleges in all parts of the country. It seems to me that the scholarship program is a most important and unique feature of the Committee's recommendations.

8. I agree with the Committee that Congressional appointment to the competitions for the majority of these scholarships is desirable, with the Executive Branch having an appropriate share.

9. Since the scholarship training program will require legislative sanction and, in any case, will take time to initiate, there is need for immediate and interim action. I am particularly gratified that the Committee considered this factor, and I have adopted the recommendations to modernize and speed up the examining and appointment procedures for Foreign Service officers of the beginning grade.

10. I have endorsed your recommended steps to insure that entering officers will be truly representative young men and women, from all sections of our country.

11. I agree with the Committee's analysis of the importance of the training function of the Foreign Service Institute in preparing our diplomatic officers for their tasks, and for inculcating in them the skills and knowledge so necessary in the practice of present day foreign affairs. To this end, I have accepted your recommendations for strengthening the Institute so that it will have a status more nearly equivalent to that of our war colleges, as envisioned by the Congress when it enacted the Foreign Service Act of 1946.

12. I am completely in agreement with the Committee's views on the importance of establishing a true career development system, especially as reflected in the training and assignment of the Department's personnel. Only through the existence of such a system can the Department attract and hold the highly qualified and dedicated body of men and women who must make up our professional service.

These, it seems to me, are the basic recommendations of the Committee, and they will be put into effect as rapidly as possible. There are, of course, a few other detailed recommendations dealing with personnel administration which require further study by myself and the other senior officers of the Department. I have in mind such suggestions as those concerning the inspection function, allowances and retirement benefits, and leave and salary adjustments. I shall see that this study is vigorously carried forward.

I am glad to have the Committee's endorsement of the Department's present effort to complete its security screening program as quickly as possible. We shall continue that effort, and shall equally, of course, continue to insure that this program is administered with the most careful fairness and objectivity.

Please allow me to express to you, and to the other members of the Committee, my appreciation

of your efforts and my conviction that you have made a substantial contribution to the strength and future of the Department of State and its career service.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

LETTER FROM COMMITTEE TO SECRETARY DULLES

MAY 18, 1954

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Pursuant to the terms of reference issued on March 5, 1954, by Acting Secretary of State Walter B. Smith, we submit herewith the Public Committee's Report.

Your recognition of deficiencies needing correction led to the appointment of this Committee. It has had the cooperation and active assistance of officers under your administrative leadership. The fact at once became obvious that administrative reform had to take second place to the development of a dynamic foreign policy under the conditions of acute emergency that have prevailed in many parts of the world. At the same time the administrative problem was itself made more difficult because of national budgetary decisions that compelled the Department of State to absorb a reduction-in-force of more than 22 percent of its strength.

The dislocations incident to that reduction and to the new security measures are disappearing; the Committee urges that now is the time for action with respect to the professional service under your direction.

The fundamental recommendations of this Committee are two:

(1) To integrate the personnel of the Department of State and of the Foreign Service, where their official functions converge, into a single administrative system, thus putting an end to the institutional separateness of these main functioning arms of United States diplomacy.

(2) To improve and broaden the recruitment methods of the Foreign Service, utilizing among other things a nationwide system of competitive scholarships, so as to provide a steady and adequate flow of officer material into the integrated service—a flow which, at the same time, will be more fully representative, in its excellence and variety, of the best of American youth.

This latter recommendation aside, most of the reforms proposed in the attached Report, as they pertain to a more broadly based and stronger Foreign Service, could have been achieved by an aggressive administration of the Foreign Service beginning with the effective date of the Foreign Service Act late in 1946.

A study of the Foreign Service Officer corps' present strength, insofar as that strength is a

product of the Act of 1946, reveals these important figures:

—Only 355 officers have been examined and appointed to the beginning officer class since November 13, 1946, and of this number not a single junior appointment has been made to the Service since August 1952;

—Only 51 experienced Government and Departmental personnel have entered the Foreign Service at higher officer ranks as established in the Act's lateral entry provision; and

—The Foreign Service Officer corps today numbers 1,285, the lowest strength in the last five years.

The Hoover Commission in 1949 and the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Personnel in 1950 made recommendations on the subject of strengthening and increasing the size of the Foreign Service.

These reports did not result in any measurable action, and it is this Committee's considered judgment that, had proper and prompt steps been taken during those years, much valuable time would have been utilized in developing the Foreign Service along the lines this Report proposes.

Vigorous administrative action coupled with full and spirited cooperation on the part of Foreign Service and Departmental officers is essential to the success of every part of the Public Committee's Report you approve.

Over the long term, the Report places great emphasis on building the Foreign Service by an annual recruitment conducted nationally for Foreign Service Officers to be commissioned at the beginning rank and by an intensified and productive training and career development program for all Foreign Service Officers.

In order to attain the end upon which there is agreement in every quarter, the Committee recommends a foreign service scholarship program modeled after the successful naval reserve officers' training plan. The purpose is to insure, so far as it can be done, a representation of every part of the country in the Foreign Service, and to be certain that the democratic ideal, long since embodied in the recruitment of the Foreign Service, may be even more fully realized.

NORMAN ARMOUR
JOHN A. McCONE
MOREHEAD PATTERSON
DONALD RUSSELL
CHARLES E. SALTZMAN

ROBERT MURPHY
Ex Officio Member
JOHN HAY WHITNEY
Vice Chairman
HENRY M. WRISTON
Chairman

Designations

Henry P. Leverich as Acting Deputy Director of the Office of Eastern European Affairs, effective May 26.

Robert M. McKisson as Acting Officer-in-Charge of Balkan Affairs within the Office of Eastern European Affairs, effective May 26.

PUBLICATIONS

German War Documents

Volume Released

Press release 317 dated June 12

The honeymoon period of Nazi-Soviet collaboration and the so-called "phony war" provide the main themes for the latest volume of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, released on June 19 by the Department of State. The new volume is the eighth in the series being published cooperatively by the American, British, and French Governments from the archives of the German Foreign Ministry captured by Allied forces at the close of World War II. It begins with the entrance of the United Kingdom and France into the war and ends with the invasion of Norway immediately in the offing, and bears the subtitle: *The War Years, September 4, 1939-March 18, 1940*.

Nazi-Soviet relations bulk largest in the volume. One hundred and eleven documents bearing directly on this subject are included in the selection. With the defeat of Poland in September, the Germans and Soviets were led to reexamine their agreements for the division of Poland and the Baltic States, and at the end of September Ribbentrop made another visit to Moscow. Important reports by Ribbentrop and Hencke, a senior German diplomat, concerning this visit are published for the first time. Also fully documented for the first time are the negotiations for the exchange of materials of war and goods between the U.S.S.R. and Germany during the winter of 1939-40. In these negotiations the Russians surprised the Germans with the extent of their demands and the tenacity with which they were insisted upon. At their critical stages the discussions were conducted by Stalin himself, with Molotov and Mikoyan also participating. The minutes of these meetings give exceptional insight into the bargaining method of the Soviet leaders.

In the period immediately following the negotiation of the Nazi-Soviet pacts the respective spheres of influence were rigidly observed and Germany rejected suggestions that sympathy be expressed with the Baltic States or Finland in their dealings with the Soviet Union. It soon became apparent that it was Germany's policy not to intervene in Russian-Finnish discussions or in the hostilities in which they resulted, but Blücher, the German Minister in Helsinki, on numerous occasions protested against this policy of his Government and urged aid to Finland.

During this period German policy toward the neutrals had two main objectives: to counteract

the workings of the Allied blockade, and to discourage the neutrals from a closer alignment with Britain and France. These objectives are particularly evident in regard to the smaller States of Europe, Turkey, the Middle East, Latin America, and the United States. At the same time Germany sought to strengthen her ties with friendly powers, particularly Italy, Japan, and Spain, and to overcome their unconcealed misgivings about German-Soviet collaboration.

Hitler and Ribbentrop repeatedly expressed faith in the Russians and in the possibility of maintaining close relations with them. In a letter to Mussolini on March 8, 1940, Hitler wrote: "We no longer have any reason for believing that any Russian agency is trying to exert influence on German domestic affairs." And to Mussolini, on March 10, Ribbentrop said that "Stalin had renounced the idea of world revolution. The Third International, in his opinion, confined itself exclusively to propaganda and informational work."

Ambassador Stohrer also had to indoctrinate Franco with the new German line that Stalin's regime had changed and that "national, not international revolutionary motivations had been decisive for the present Russian attitude." The Ambassador reported that his "emphatic explanations seemed to give some reassurance to Franco."

The documents here published dealing with the United States show that close attention was paid to American attitudes and that the German Foreign Ministry was, in general, well informed about currents of opinion here. Several reports from the military attaché, in which Hitler is known to have taken particular interest, are included. Chargé d'Affaires Hans Thomsen at the Washington Embassy was insistent in warning against any resort to sabotage in America as in World War I, as this would cut the ground out from under the isolationists whose line was that American interests were not involved in the European War. Thomsen also advised against use of German propaganda in any overt support of the isolationists, as this would only encourage the will to intervention on the part of American opinion, which was already overwhelmingly anti-German.

The most important U.S.-German negotiations of the period were conducted by Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles in February and March 1940. Documents on Welles' talks in Berlin include Hitler's instructions on the line to be taken with Welles and memoranda of Welles' conversations with Ribbentrop, State Secretary Weizsäcker, Göring, and Hitler himself.

The volume will be of interest not only to historians but also to persons with a general interest in contemporary foreign affairs.

The research on this volume has been directed by the following editors-in-chief: For the United States: Paul R. Sweet; for the United Kingdom: the Hon. Margaret Lambert; for France: Professor Maurice Baumont.

Foreign Relations Volume

Press release 305 dated June 7

The growing threat of a general European War and the Civil War in Spain form the subject matter of the greater part of the documentation printed in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, Volume I, General*, which the Department of State released on June 12. As in the volumes for earlier years, the United States appears in a role of neutrality and nonintervention, but indication of a possible shift of policy appears with President Roosevelt's "quarantine speech" at Chicago on October 5.

Technically there was no war in Europe in 1937, even the fighting in Spain not being recognized as such, but, as François-Poncet, French Ambassador to Germany, remarked to Ambassador William C. Bullitt at Paris, "nations no longer waged war; they waged peace." (p. 123)

From Warsaw, Ambassador John Cudahy wrote to President Roosevelt on December 26, 1936, that there was a persistent rumor that the President contemplated some sort of movement in furtherance of peace in Europe. He described the future outlook as dismal but believed it would be a grave mistake for the President to attempt any mediation without first having a definite program for improving conditions in Germany (pp. 24-26). In reply, President Roosevelt wrote on January 15, 1937: "Do not believe rumors that I contemplate any move of any kind in Europe—certainly under conditions of the moment." (pp. 26-27)

In a telegram of April 10 from London, Norman Davis, Chairman of the American delegation to the General Disarmament Conference, reported a conversation with the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden. The latter said that when the time came to make a move for peace it would probably be best for the United States to take the lead. Mr. Davis told him that, despite concern for the inevitable disaster that would come unless something was done to reverse suicidal policies, he was sure the President had no desire or intention of interjecting himself in the European political situation.

In two telegrams of April 30, Ambassador Bullitt recorded conversations with Sir Eric Phipps, British Ambassador to France, and Yvon Delbos, French Foreign Minister, in which the theme was that a strong stand against Germany by France and England backed by the benevolent neutrality of the United States might preserve peace in Europe. They expressed themselves extremely satisfied with American neutrality legislation. (pp. 84-86) This favorable view of the neutrality law was not shared by Neville Chamberlain, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, who in a memorandum of about March 30 to Henry Morgenthau,

Secretary of the Treasury, characterized the existing law as an indirect but potent encouragement to aggression and declared its amendment would be the greatest single contribution which the United States could make to world peace. (pp. 98-102, 100) In a reply to the British Embassy on June 1, the Department of State explained certain changes in neutrality legislation and emphasized the need for liberal economic policies to ease political tension. (pp. 102-106)

In July, after Mr. Chamberlain became Prime Minister, a meeting between him and President Roosevelt was proposed but on September 28 the former wrote that the time was not ripe. (pp. 113, 121-122)

On August 31, Ambassador William Phillips at Rome was informed that the Italian Government would welcome the initiative of President Roosevelt to assure European peace and would do everything in its power to lend its support. (p. 121)

President Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech of October 5 is not reprinted in this volume but there are a number of diplomatic reports on reactions to it. (pp. 132-139, 151-152, 154, 210, 413, 425, 450, 464) The speech aroused hope in some quarters of more active interest by the United States in European affairs but it was followed by no definite further moves. Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles offered a proposal for concerted international action to reach common agreement on the principles of international conduct to preserve peace but the plan to present it to foreign governments was abandoned. (pp. 665-670)

Assistant Secretary George S. Messersmith on October 11 presented to the Secretary of State a significant memorandum on the threat to peace from aggressive dictatorships if dangerous compromises continued to be made. (pp. 140-145) He declared that "there is no escape from the conclusion that the United States are the ultimate object of attack of the powers grouped in this new system of force and lawlessness." (p. 141)

In a dispatch of November 23, Ambassador Bullitt reported a series of conversations on a trip to Warsaw and Berlin. (pp. 162-177) Most significant, perhaps, was that with Hermann Goering. (pp. 170-177) This Nazi leader frankly stated that Germany was determined to annex Austria and that the Sudeten Germans of Czechoslovakia as well as all other Germans living contiguous to Germany must enter the German Reich.

The sections on the Spanish Civil War in this volume contain numerous reports which indicate the Department of State was carefully watching developments but, as in the previous year (see *Foreign Relations, 1936, Volume II*), the U.S. Government maintained a policy of strict nonintervention and centered its activities on the protection of American lives and property and on preventing the sending of American war material to the belligerents.

International Bank Announcements	991
American Principles. Building Strength in Today's World	
Power Situation (Murphy)	988
Atomic Energy. Exhibition of Peaceful Uses of Atomic	
Energy (Eisenhower)	982
Congress, The	
Current Legislation	999
Proposed Changes in Organization of Export-Import Bank .	991
Economic Affairs	
U.S. Authorizes Funds for Korean Power Plants	993
International Bank Announcements	991
Proposed Changes in Organization of Export-Import Bank .	991
U.S. Encouragement of International Travel (Randall)	997
Foreign Service. Initiation of Recommendations in Wriston Report	1002
France. U.S. Assurances to France (Eisenhower)	990
Guatemala. Guatemalan Situation (Dulles)	981
International Information. Exhibition of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (Eisenhower)	982
International Organizations and Meetings	
Anticipated Increase in Refugee Migration for 1954 and 1955 (Warren, Dulles)	994
British Leaders' Visit to United States	989
Jordan. Grant Economic Assistance Agreement With Jordan	1000
U.S. Authorizes Funds for Korean Power Plants	993
Geneva Declaration on Korea	973
Military Affairs	
Peace and Security in the H-Bomb Age (Wainhouse)	983
Security in the Pacific (Dulles)	971
National Security	
Turkey's Armed Forces Get \$30 Million in FOA Funds	992
U.S.-Philippines To Discuss Mutual Defense Matters	973
U.S.-Philippines. U.S., Philippines To Discuss Mutual Defense Matters	973
Presidential Documents	
Exhibition of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy	982
U.S. Assurances to France	990
Publications	
Current U.N. Documents	993
Foreign Relations Volume	1006
German War Documents Volume Released	1005
Refugees and Displaced Persons. Anticipated Increase in Refugee Migration for 1954 and 1955 (Warren, Dulles)	994
State, Department of	
Nominations (Leverich, McKisson)	1004
Guatemalan Situation	981
Thailand. Thailand's Request for Peace Observation Mission (Dulles, Lodge) (draft resolution)	974
Security Information	
Current Actions	1001
Grant Economic Assistance Agreement With Jordan	1000
Turkey. Turkey's Armed Forces Get \$30 Million in FOA Funds	992
United Kingdom. British Leaders' Visit to United States	989

United Nations	
Current U.N. Documents	993
A Fresh Look at the United Nations (Key)	976
Geneva Declaration on Korea	973
Peace and Security in the H-Bomb Age (Wainhouse)	983
Thailand's Request for Peace Observation Mission (Dulles, Lodge) (draft resolution)	974

Name Index

Armour, Norman	1004
Churchill, Winston	989
Dulles, Secretary	971, 973, 974, 981, 990, 995, 1002
Eden, Anthony	989
Eisenhower, President	982, 989, 990
Key, David McK.	976
Leverich, Henry P.	1004
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr.	974
Luce, Clare Booth	982
McCone, John A.	1004
McKisson, Robert M.	1004
Murphy, Robert G.	988, 1004
Patterson, Morehead	1004
Peurifoy, John E.	981
Randall, Clarence B.	997
Romulo, Carlos P.	973
Russell, Donald	1004
Saltzman, Charles E.	1004
Wainhouse, David W.	983
Warren, George L.	994
Whitney, John Hay	1004
Wriston, Henry M.	1004

Check List of Department of State

Press Releases: June 14-20

Releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Press releases issued prior to June 14 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 304 and 305 of June 7, 311 of June 9, 314 of June 10, 317 of June 12, and 318 of June 11.

No.	Date	Subject
319	6/15	Economic assistance, Jordan
*320	6/15	Saltzman nomination
321	6/15	Churchill and Eden visit
322	6/15	Dulles: Wriston report
323	6/15	Guatemalan situation
324	6/15	Geneva Declaration on Korea
325	6/15	Mutual defense, Philippines
*326	6/16	Educational exchange
*327	6/16	Educational exchange
†328	6/18	Key: Issues facing U. N.
†329	6/18	Hewitt appointment
*330	6/18	Waugh: U.S. economic leadership
331	6/18	Soviet veto of Thai proposal
†332	6/19	Economic aid, Libya

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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1937, Volume I, General

The growing threat of a general European War and the Civil War in Spain form the subject matter of the greater part of the documentation printed in this volume. As in the volumes for earlier years, the United States appears in a role of neutrality and nonintervention but indication of a possible shift of policy appears with President Roosevelt's "quarantine speech" at Chicago on October 5.

Technically there was no war in Europe in 1937, even the fighting in Spain not being recognized as such, but, as Francois-Poncet, French Ambassador to Germany, remarked to Ambassador William C. Bullitt at Paris, "nations no longer waged war; they waged peace."

Other documentation in this volume deals with a number of general and multilateral problems.

Copies of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, Volume I, General*, may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$4.25 a copy.

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INDEX

VOLUME XXX: Numbers 758-783

January 4 - June 28, 1954



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Afghanista
Export-
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Questi
Jordan,
Netherla
Norway,
Princip
Soviet bl
Index, Ja

INDEX

Volume XXX: Numbers 758-783, January 4-June 28, 1954

seamen, convention on certification of, U. S. ratification registered, 693
Advisory Commission on Information, U. S., members, 482
Afghanistan:
Export-Import Bank loans, 368, 370, 553, 836
U. S. technical aid, 433
U. S. wheat shipments, 566, 613
Africa (*see also individual countries*):
Administrative divisions, 1954, map, facing 716
British West Africa, international telecommunication convention, accession deposited, 773
Educational exchange program in, 504
Foreign Relations volumes on, released, 328, 966
French West Africa, International Bank loan, 992
Mutual security program in, 147, 369, 552
North Africa, nationalism, U. S. role, 632
Territory of South West Africa, international telecommunication convention, ratification deposited, 773
Trust territories, administration and progress toward self-government: Article (Gerig), 716; statements (Sears), 298, 336, 453
Union of South Africa. *See* South Africa
U. S. policy during 1953, articles (Howard), 274, 328, 365
Agreements, international. *See* Treaties, agreements, etc., and country or subject
Agricultural policy, U. S., coordination with foreign economic policy:
Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 191
Recommendations of President to Congress, 605
Agricultural surpluses, U. S., use in overseas programs:
Afghanistan, agreement for purchase, 566, 613
Agreements regarding, U. S. policy, 239
Bolivia, allotments, 468, 488, 489
Budget message of President to Congress, 147
FOA report (June 30-Dec. 31, 1953), 488
France, allotments, 641
Italy, allotments, 82, 714
Japan, agreement with U. S. for purchase:
Agreement and agreed official minutes, 518, 523 (text), 613, 773
Interim measures agreement, 613
Question of Senate action, 570
Jordan, agreement with U. S., 55, 489, 552
Netherlands, allotments, 674
Norway, allotments, 714
Principles and objectives, statement (Waugh), 238
Soviet bloc, regulations denying license for export to, 321

Agricultural surpluses, U. S., use in overseas programs—
Continued
Use by voluntary agencies, article (Ringland), 390, 391
Yugoslavia, allotments, 714
Agriculture, migrant labor agreement with Mexico. *See* under Mexico
Aid to foreign countries. *See* Foreign aid
Air bases abroad. *See* Bases
Air defense arrangement with Canada, statement (Wilson), 639
Air Force mission agreement with Chile, extension, 613
Air transport. *See* Aviation
Aircraft (*see also* Aviation):
Convention on international rights in aircraft, 197, 613
Soviet aircraft, alleged destruction by U. S. over Manchuria, U. S. and Soviet notes, 408, 410, 412
U. N. Command in Korea, charged with violations of Armistice agreement regarding aircraft, 945
U. S. aircraft, attacks on:
Czech attack (1954), U. S. and Czech notes, 563
Hungarian seizure, U. S. claim before International Court of Justice, 449, 450 (text)
Soviet destruction over Sea of Japan, U. S. note, 408, 409
Albania:
Forced labor in, statements (Hotchkis), 806, 807, 808
Greek frontier problem, 276n
Monetary gold case, 199
U. S. air and naval bases in Greece, protest, 277
Aldrich, Winthrop W., address on strengthening Anglo-American ties, 591
Alexander, Robert C., duties as Assistant Administrator, Refugee Relief Act, 714, 799
Allen, George V.:
India, continuance of economic aid to, statement favoring, 759
India, growth of freedom in, address, 864
Allied Council for Austria, Soviet allegations against Austrian Government to be considered by, 824
Allied High Commission for Germany, Patent Appeal Board established, 913
Allison, John M., statements:
Atomic injury to Japanese seamen, 598
Mutual defense agreement with Japan, 518
American Attitudes, Foundations of, address (Matthews), 434
American republics. *See* Latin America and individual countries

- Americans abroad, article (Colligan), 663
Americas, organizing security in, address (Dreier), 830
Anderson, Samuel W., statement on economic progress in Turkey, 284
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan:
Controversy, article (Howard), 280
Elections, address (Sanger), 213
Anglo-Iranian oil dispute. *See under Iran*
Antilles, Netherlands. *See Netherlands*
Applegate, Richard, kidnapping by Chinese Communists, 685
Arab refugees:
Addresses: Byroade, 712; Sanger, 210
Jordan Valley project, benefits to. *See Jordan River*
Position of Israeli and Arab states, 95, 96, 100, 630, 631
Special Refugee Survey Commission, U. S., interim report, 95, 210
U. N. measures to aid. *See Jordan River and United Nations Relief and Works Agency*
U. S. financial aid, 96, 99, 147, 366, 368, 552, 712
Arab States (*see also individual countries*):
Arab refugee problem (*see also Arab refugees*), position on, 95, 96, 100, 631
Dispute with Israel. *See Palestine question*
Jordan Valley project. *See Jordan River*
U. S. economic and technical aid, 147, 551, 552
U. S. policy, interpretation of, address (Byroade), 711, 712
U. S. policy during 1953, addresses: Howard, 328; Sanger, 209
U. S. relations with, statement (Eisenhower), 275
Archeology, Latin American exhibition of, 677
Argentina:
Ecuador-Peru boundary incident, conciliation effort, 468
Inter-American Conference, 10th, position on declaration against international communism, 420n, 424, 634
U. S. private investment, 731
Armaments control (*see also Atomic energy and Disarmament Commission*):
Conventional Armaments Commission, U. N., 986
Geneva Conference agenda, 317, 318, 345
Soviet position, 80, 757, 786, 985, 986, 987, 988
U. N. Charter review of problems, 172
U. S. policy, 756, 786, 828, 985
Armbruster, Raymond T., member, War Claims Commission, 24
Armed forces. *See Korea: U. N. Command; and North Atlantic Treaty Organization*
Armed forces, U. S. (*see also Aircraft; Armaments control; and Military assistance agreements*)
In Austria, withdrawal. *See Foreign Ministers' Meeting: Austrian settlement*
Benefits to, message of President to Congress, 77
In Europe, U. S. policy, 619
In Germany:
Tax treatment convention, 653
Withdrawal, Soviet proposal for, 268, 270
Indochina, clarification of Vice President's statement, 623
In Japan, treaties regarding. *See Japan: Treaties*
In Korea. *See Korea: U. S. troops*
Prisoners of war. *See Prisoners of war, Korea*
Armed forces, U. S.—Continued
Rights on foreign soil, address (Phleger), 198
Armistice agreement, Korea. *See Korea*
Armistice agreement, Palestine. *See Palestine question*
Armour, Norman, opinion on effect of security program on Foreign Service, 169
Arms, ammunition, and implements of war:
Arms shipment to Guatemala from Soviet-controlled area, 835, 874, 938, 950
Export-licensing regulations, 157
Illegal export, convictions, 567
Asia, Economic Commission for, statement (Lodge), 8
Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia (*see also individual countries*):
Collective security (*see also Collective security*):
Addresses and statements: Dulles, 540, 742, 743, 744, 782, 862, 864, 937; Eisenhower, 740; Jernegan, 44, 594
London and Paris conversations: Joint statement U. S.-U. K. and U. S.-French, 622; statement (Dulles), 590, 668, 743, 972
Communist aggression and objectives, addresses and statements: Dulles, 539, 540, 582, 583, 590, 914, 926; Jenkins, 859; McConaughy, 39; Murphy, 430, 431, 432, 515, 516; Nixon, 12; Robertson, 349; Smith, 589, 943
Japanese trade with Southeast Asia, 431, 517
Map of Southeast Asia, 741
Meeting the People of Asia, address (Nixon), 10
Neutralist sentiment in Asia, 351, 446, 594, 595
Stassen visit, 333
U. S. aid, 147, 349, 350, 351, 368, 369, 370, 432, 580
U. S. policy in South Asia:
During 1953, articles (Howard), 274, 328, 365
Statements (Dulles), 209, 210, 214, 274, 275, 327, 580, 781, 923
Associated States, Indochina. *See Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam*
Asylum, diplomatic and territorial, conventions on, 635
Atlantic Fisheries, Northwest, International Commission for, appointment of U. S. commissioner, 640
Atomic disease, visit to U. S. of Japanese expert on, 757
Atomic energy:
Development, effect on U. S. foreign policy, address (Wainhouse), 983
Development, domestic, President's proposed legislative amendments, 306
Hydrogen-bomb tests in the Pacific:
Japanese fishermen, U. S. investigation of injuries to, 466, 598
Marshall's complaint to U. N.: Petition, 887; statement (Lodge), 886
Statement (Strauss), 548, 926
International control of:
"Atoms for Peace" proposals. *See "Atoms for Peace"*
Baruch plan, 985
Soviet position, 757
Statements (Lodge), 687
U. N. Disarmament Subcommittee: establishment, 687, 987; meeting, 622, 786
U. S. efforts for control, 756, 786

Atomic energy—Continued

Peacetime uses (*see also* "Atoms for Peace"):

Exhibition in Rome, 982

Sharing of nuclear material and tactical information with Allies, U. S. policy:

NAC endorsement, 8

President's views and messages to Congress proposing legislative amendments, 8n, 77, 144, 145, 303

Statement (Dulles), 926

Atomic Energy Act, proposed amendments:

Messages of President to Congress, 77, 144, 145, 303

Statement (Dulles), 926

Atomic Energy Agency, International, President Eisenhower's proposal for (*see also* "Atoms for Peace"), 660, 661, 662, 926, 987

Atomic Energy Commission, U. N., efforts for international control of atomic energy, 985, 986

Atomic Energy Commission, U. S.:

Budget, President's recommendations to Congress, 144

Powers and personnel, President's proposed legislative amendments, 303

"Atoms for Peace" proposals of President Eisenhower:

Addresses, statements, etc.: Dulles, 110, 172, 345, 622, 926, 927; Eisenhower, 77, 144, 145, 304; Key, 977; Lodge, 687, 724; Matthews, 437; Strauss, 659; Wainhouse, 987

Soviet response to proposals:

Statement (Dulles), 9

Text of Soviet statement, 80

Talks with and transmission of concrete proposals to Soviet Union, 80, 82, 110, 465, 622, 661, 977, 987

Wuerbach, Frank L., address on refugee relief program, 797

Winston, Warren, statement on question of Japanese admission to U. N., 514

Australia:

Economy of, improvement, 480

Fisheries dispute with Japan, address (Phleger), 200

Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347

International Bank loan, 480

International Court of Justice, party to Statute, 613

Military talks with U. S., 948

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Double taxation, with U. S., estate, gift, and income, entry into force, 22, 123, 525

GATT, declaration on continued application of schedules, signed, 525

GATT, third protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, signed, 773

Mutual defense treaty with U. S., comparison with Korean treaty, 132, 133

Postal convention, universal, ratification deposited, 965

Sugar agreement, international, ratification deposited, 525

Telecommunication convention, international, ratification deposited, 773

Austria:

Ambassador to U. S., credentials, 443

Economic improvement, 250, 488

Neutralization, Soviet proposals at Foreign Ministers' Meeting. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting: Austrian settlement

Austria—Continued

Soviet charges and threats against Government, instruction of Secretary Dulles to U. S. representative on Allied Council for Austria, 824

State treaty and liberation (*see also* Foreign Ministers' Meeting), address (Eisenhower), 901

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

GATT, action on protocols and declaration, 803

Postal convention, universal, ratification deposited, 693

U. S. aid, 250, 488

Auto travel, international. *See* Travel

Aviation (*see also* Aircraft):

Air travel between U. S. and Latin America, address (Woodward), 234

Civil aviation talks, U. S. and Canada, 20

India, air transport services agreement with U. S., 525

International Civil Aviation Organization, work of, 828

Japan Air Lines, flights to U. S., 514

Military aviation agreement with El Salvador, extension, 693

North Atlantic ocean stations program. *See* North Atlantic ocean stations

Bacteriological warfare charges by Communists against U. S., 724, 976, 986

Baker, George P., confirmation of appointment to U. N. commission, 686

Baldwin, Charles F., appointment in State Department, 374

Balkan Pact, tripartite (Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia), 248, 276, 365, 441

Balkans, U. S. voluntary relief, article (Ringland), 383

Balloons, release of by Crusade for Freedom, U. S. reply to Czech protest, 881

Bank for Reconstruction and Development. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Bao Dai, message from President Eisenhower upon fall of Dien-Bien-Phu, 745, 835

Barbour, Walworth, designation in State Department, 966

Baruch plan for control of atomic energy, 985

Bases, military, on foreign soil:

NATO bases, 557, 558, 561, 579, 592

Soviet verbal attacks on, 461

U. S. bases in—

Ethiopia, agreement for, 871

Great Britain, 592

Greece, Soviet protests, 277

Spain: Address (Dunn), 477; statements (Dulles), 580, 922

Battle Act. *See* Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act

Bayar, Celal, visit to U. S., 24, 162, 213, 284:

Joint session of Congress, address before, 247

Legion of Merit award, toast by President Eisenhower and response, 249

Beaulac, Willard L., confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Chile, 298

Belgian Congo:

Road traffic convention, application to, 884

Securities, registration requirements, 673

Belgium:

- Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
- Securities, registration requirements, 673
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Double taxation, with U. S., estate taxes, signed, 928, 929
 - EDC treaty, ratification, 433
 - German external debts, ratification deposited, 693
 - Lend-lease, reciprocal aid, surplus property, and claims, settlement for, agreement with U. S. amending memorandum of understanding, 773
 - Road traffic convention and protocol, ratification deposited, 884

Trust territories in Africa, administration, 719

Bell, James D., statement on sale of vessels to Philippines, 571

Berlin, West, economic reconstruction of, article (Woodward), 584

Berlin blockade, 584

Berlin four-power meeting. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting

Bidault, Georges:

- Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Berlin, proposals (*see also* Foreign Ministers' Meeting), 179, 180, 227
- Indochina and Southeast Asia, joint statement with U. S. on Communist aggression, 622, 743
- London Foreign Ministers' Meeting (1953), joint communique on Qibiya incident, 329

Bipartisan foreign policy, statement (Dulles), 801

Black, Richard T., address on telecommunications, 83

Bliss, Robert Woods, opinion on effect of security program on Foreign Service, 169

Boggs, S. Whittemore, address on global relations of U. S., 903

Bogotá, Pact of, 833, 983, 985

Bohan, Merwin L., address on inter-American economic problems, 875

Bolivia, U. S. aid:

- Economic and technical aid, 485, 488
- Technical cooperation agreement, 567
- Wheat allotments, 468, 488, 489

Borneo, U. S. technical aid, 433

Boundary dispute, Peru and Ecuador, conciliation, 468, 678

Bowdler, William G., article on accomplishments of 10th Inter-American Conference, 634

Bowie, Robert R., address on European unity, 139

Boykin, Samuel D., designation in State Department, 694

Brazil:

Coastal shipping:

- Four-point improvement program, 952
- Proposed sale of U. S. vessels, statements: Nolan, 951; Woodward, 533

Coffee production, price increase in U. S., 257

Economic Development Commission, Joint U. S.-Brazil, 533, 952

Ecuador-Peru boundary dispute, conciliation effort, 468

Film Festival, International, 298

Inter-American Conference, 10th, proposed amendment to declaration against international communism, 425

International Bank loans, 24

U. S. private investment in, 731

Brazil—Continued

Weights and measures convention, adherence deposited, 1001

Bribery allegation regarding friendly foreign power, investigation results, 251

Bricker Amendment to Constitution on treaty-making powers of Federal Government, 195

British Commonwealth. *See* United Kingdom

British Guiana, U. S. technical cooperation survey, 89

Broadcasting:

Programs to Iron Curtain countries; Addresses concerning, 205, 822, 823; Czech countermeasures, 320; popularity ratings, 320

U. S.-Mexican problems, 678

Brotherhood in the World of Today, address (Murphy), 287

Brown, Winthrop G., review of ECE economic survey of Europe, 608

Bruce, David, continuance as Under Secretary of State, 89

Brussels Pact, 312

Buchanan, Wiley T., Jr., confirmation as U. S. Minister to Luxembourg, 298

Buildings, U. S., overseas, establishment of Architectural Advisory Board, 169

Bulgaria:

Greek frontier problem, 276

U. S. air and naval bases in Greece, protest, 277

Burma, evacuation of foreign forces, statements (Carey), 32

Business, influence on American freedom, remarks (Dulles Eisenhower), 837

Buy American legislation, Federal procurement recommendations, 192, 605, 841

Byroade, Henry A.:

Addresses:

Arab-Israeli dispute, 708, 761

Greece and free world defense, 439

Middle East, U. S. objectives, 628, 710

U. S. colonial policy, 212, 213, 214

Visit to Near East and South Asia, 209, 275

Cabot, John M.:

Economic progress in the Americas, address, 48

Foreign Service, address on understanding, 353

U. S. Ambassador to Sweden, confirmation, 414

Calendar of international meetings, 25, 166, 334, 527, 688, 885

Cambodia:

Atrocity by Viet Minh:

Cambodian note and U. S. reply, 746

Statement (Smith), 783

Communist aggression. *See* Indochina

Independence, progress toward, 359, 432, 539, 582, 742, 784, 863, 924, 948, 972

Cameroons, British, progress toward self-rule, 298, 336, 718

Cameroons, French, French administration, 336, 718

Canada:

Air-defense cooperation with U. S., statement (Wilson), 639

Civil aviation talks with U. S., 20

Fisheries Commission, International North Pacific, 166, 297, 327, 515

Canada—Continued

- Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
- Governor General (Massey), address before joint session of U. S. Congress, 762
- Investments, foreign and domestic:
 - Addresses: Cabot, 51; Dulles, 381
 - U. S. equity, 121
- Libby Dam, U. S. application for construction, 878
- Niagara Falls remedial project, inauguration, 954
- Oats, limitation on shipments to U. S., 21, 56
- St. Lawrence Seaway. *See* St. Lawrence Seaway
- Trade and Economic Affairs, Joint U. S.-Canada Committee, meeting and communique, 364, 511
- Treaties and agreements:
 - German external debts, ratification deposited, 693
 - Halibut fishery convention, 525
 - Opium protocol, ratification deposited, 884
 - U. N. Disarmament Subcommittee, member, 687, 688
 - U. S. Canadian relations, address (Stuart), 18
- Canal Zone, agreement with Panama regarding use of sewerage facilities, entry into force, 803
- Capital, private, investment abroad. *See* Investment of private capital abroad
- Captive peoples, U. S. policy, statement (Dulles), 824
- Caracas, Declaration of, 425, 634, 639 (text)
- Carey, Archibald J., Jr., statements on evacuation of foreign forces from Burma, 32
- Caribbean area, agreement with U. K. for U. S. technical aid, 653
- Caribbean Commission, U. S. delegation to 18th meeting, 850
- Carillon, Netherlands gift to U. S., 755
- Censorship of the press, addresses and statements: Eisenhower, 701; Hotchkis, 682; Lodge, 849
- Ceylon, Ambassador to U. S., credentials, 443
- Chamber of Commerce, U. S., support to U. N., 826
- Channel Islands:
 - Agreement on German external debts, extension to, 733
 - Postal convention, universal, application to, 693
- Chapin, Selden, confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Panama, 298
- Charter of the United Nations. *See* United Nations Charter
- Cherbourg, France, Memorial Day ceremonies, 959
- Chihuahua, Mexico, U. S. consulate to be closed, 852
- Children's Fund, U. N.:
 - Accomplishments (1953), 828
 - U. S. contribution to, 366, 371
- Chile:
 - Ecuador-Peru boundary incident, conciliation effort, 468
 - Peso, change in par value, 296
- Treaties and agreements:
 - Air Force mission agreement with U. S., extension, 613
 - Japan, agreement for settlement of disputes arising under art. 15 (a) of peace treaty, entry into force for Chile, 852
 - Japan, peace treaty, ratification deposited, 852
 - U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298
 - U. S. private investment, 731
- China:
 - Addresses and articles:
 - China in the Shadow of Communism (McConaughy), 39

China—Continued

- Addresses and articles—Continued
 - Faith in the Future of China (Robertson), 398
 - U. S. and a Divided China (Jenkins), 859
 - U. S. policy: Jenkins, 624; Martin, 543
- Students in U. S., statement issued at Geneva Conference concerning, 949
- China, Communist:
 - Alliance with Moscow, addresses and articles: Jenkins, 624, 625, 859; Martin, 544, 545
 - Anti-U. S. propaganda, 540, 545
 - Control of mainland, addresses: Martin, 544, 545; Murphy, 430
 - Forced labor, statements: Hotchkis, 807, 808; Lodge, 849
 - Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
 - Germ warfare charges against U. S., 724, 976, 986
 - Indochina, aggression in. *See* Indochina.
 - Korea, aggression in. *See* Korea
 - Recognition issue, U. S. position, addresses, statements, etc.: Dulles, 843, 345, 346, 347, 405, 540, 541, 669, 739; Jenkins 625, 626, 627, 860, 861, 862; Martin, 544; McConaughy, 40; U. S. delegation at Geneva, 950
 - Soviet attempts for 5-power conference to include Communist China, 81, 181, 182, 183, 222, 223, 292, 346, 404, 405, 739
 - Soviet proposal for membership on U. N. Disarmament Subcommittee, 688
- Trade:
 - Free world trade, FOA report: Requirements, 848; statistics, 847
 - U. N. economic sanctions, 41
 - U. S. export policy, 41, 42, 111, 112, 194, 563, 626, 845, 848, 861
 - U. N. membership, unfitness for, addresses: Dulles, 540; Jenkins, 625, 626, 861, 862; Lodge, 724
 - U. S. citizens: Detention, U. S. efforts for release, 949, 950; kidnapping of journalists, 685
 - Violence by Communists against people of China, address (Nixon), 12, 13
- China, Republic of:
 - Formosa, strategic and political importance, address (Martin), 546
 - Treaties and agreements with U. S. for loans of vessels:
 - Destroyers: Address (Robertson), 398; entry into force, 568
 - Small naval craft, entry into force, 965
 - U. S. support to, addresses, etc.: Dulles, 541; Eisenhower, 76, 144, 147; Jenkins, 627, 862; McConaughy, 39
- Chou En-lai, 222, 223, 807; proposals at Geneva Conference, 940, 941, 942, 943
- Churchill, Sir Winston:
 - Anglo-Iranian relations, address, 280
 - Suez Base negotiations, statement, 281
 - Visit to U. S., proposed, 989, 991
- Civil aviation. *See* Aviation
- Civil defense, President's message to Congress, 78
- Civilians, protection in time of war. *See* Geneva conventions
- Claims:
 - Belgium, agreement with U. S., 733
 - Cuba, U. S. claims in, time extension for submission, 564
 - Egypt, legislation on claims against former dynasty, 112

Claims—Continued

- Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, transmittal to Congress of Reorganization Plan No. 1 for establishment, 811
- Guatemala, U. S. claims for expropriated land, 678, 938, 950
- International Claims Commission, U. S., 401, 811
- Japan, claims arising from presence of U. S. and U. N. forces in, protocol signed, 613
- Norway, agreement with U. S. on conflicting claims to enemy property, 772, 1001
- U. K., meetings with U. S. to discuss conflicting claims to enemy property, 590
- War Claims Commission, U. S., 24, 811
- Clark, Gen. Mark W., statement upon signing of military armistice in Korea, 61
- Clay, Henry J., appointment to International Claims Commission, 401
- Coal and Steel Community, European. *See* European Coal and Steel Community
- Coffee, price increase:
 - Addresses: Dulles, 381; Smith, 360
 - Correspondence (Sullivan, Morton), 257
- Collective security (*see also* Mutual defense):
 - Addresses and statements: Dreier, 830; Dulles, 459, 464, 921, 937, 971; Murphy, 989; Wainhouse, 984
 - Asia. *See under* Asia
 - Ethiopian contributions, 869, 871
 - Europe. *See* European Defense Community; European treaty for collective security; Foreign Ministers' Meeting; and North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 - Latin America (*see also* Inter-American Conference and Organization of American States), address (Dreier), 830
 - Near and Middle East. *See* Near and Middle East
 - North America, 4, 639
 - Pacific area (*see also* Mutual defense treaties), 515, 516, 782, 971, 985
 - Regional arrangements. *See* Regional arrangements
 - Soviet Union, rejection, 916
- Colligan, Francis J., article on Americans abroad, 663
- Colombia:
 - Coffee production, price increase in U. S., 257, 360
 - Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
 - Haya de la Torre asylum case, 634
 - Inter-American Conference, 10th, proposed amendment to declaration against international communism, 420n, 425
 - U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298
- Colonialism (*see also* Pacific trust territory and Underdeveloped areas):
 - In the Americas, resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 634
- Self-determination of colonial peoples:
 - Address (Lord), 372
 - Africa, progress toward, 298, 336, 453, 716
 - U. S. policy, addresses, statements, etc.: Byroade, 212, 213, 214, 632; Dulles, 212, 275, 717, 936; Gerig, 717, 720; Sears, 336
- Comintern, activities and dissolution, 420, 421
- Commercial relations, U. S. and other countries. *See* Economic policy and relations; Tariff policy, U. S.; Tariffs and trade, general agreement on; and Trade

- Commercial samples and advertising material, international convention to facilitate importation, accession deposited, Indonesia, 965
- Commercial treaties and agreements (*see also* Trade):
 - Bilateral, U. S. and other countries, listed, 443
 - U. S. and Israel, 442, 803
 - U. S. and Japan, 154, 514
- Commodity Credit Corp., President's budget recommendations, 147, 238, 239
- Communism (*see also* China, Communist, and Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of):
 - Asia. *See under* Asia
 - China, article (McConaughy), 39
 - Doctrines and methods of operation, addresses, etc.: Dulles, 459, 460, 539, 705, 935, 937; Eisenhower, 900; Jenkins, 859; Murphy, 988
 - Far East, address (Robertson), 348
 - Front organizations, 421
 - Global aggression, addresses, etc.: Dulles, 579, 779, 921; Elbrick, 556, 560
 - Greece, guerilla campaign, 439
 - Guatemala. *See under* Guatemala
 - Indochina. *See* Indochina
 - International communism (*see also* Inter-American Conference), definition and objectives, 379, 419, 581
 - Japan, threat to, 431, 515
 - Korea. *See* Korea
 - Latin America. *See under* Latin America
 - Propaganda, 350, 351, 431, 506, 540, 701, 706, 936, 974, 976
 - Thailand, 974
 - Threat to free world, addresses, etc.: Byroade, 440; Dulles, 459, 464; Dunn, 478; Eisenhower, 899; Merchant, 819; Morton, 290, 291; Smith, 264, 943
- Conant, James B.:
 - Efforts to restore interzonal freedom of movement in Germany, 508, 879
 - Foundations of a democratic future for Germany, address, 750
- Conferences and organizations, international (*see also* subject), calendar of meetings, 25, 166, 334, 527, 680, 885
- Congress:
 - Arab refugees:
 - Appropriations for relief, 99
 - Subcommittee report, 210
 - Bricker Amendment to Constitution on treaty-making powers of Federal Government, 195
 - Foreign policy conference at White House, 79
 - Joint sessions, addresses before:
 - Emperor of Ethiopia, 867
 - Governor General of Canada, 762
 - President of Turkey, 247
 - Legislation:
 - Foreign policy, listed. *See* Legislation
 - Mexican migrant labor, statement (Eisenhower), 468
 - Voluntary foreign aid, 386, 387
 - Legislation, proposed (*see also* Eisenhower: Messages, reports, and letters to Congress):
 - Atomic Energy Act, amendments, 77, 144, 145, 303, 926
 - Copyright laws, amendments, 530, 532
 - U. S. ships, sale to Brazil for coastal shipping, 533
 - Mutual defense assistance agreement with Japan, question of need for Senate action, 570

Congress—
Mutual
ate an
Mutual
Preside
repor
Senate
regar
partn
U. N. C
Char
USIA, f
Constitut
powe
Consular
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Costa Ric
Ambas
U. S. A
Cotton, U
Cotton A
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Coty, Re
Corres
Dien
Electio
Council o
Crowe, I
10th
East
Cruiksh
Crusade
ing
Cuba:
Claim
Expor
Indus
158
Nickel
Treat
GA
th
Gen
e
Pos
8
Sug
5

Congress—Continued
 Mutual defense treaty with Korea, transmittal to Senate and approval, 131, 208
 Mutual Security Act (1953), extension, 210
 Presidential messages, etc. *See* Eisenhower: Messages, reports, and letters to Congress
 Senate Investigation Subcommittee, bribery allegation regarding friendly foreign power, results of State Department investigation, 251
 U. N. Charter review, study of. *See* United Nations Charter
 USIA, five-month report to, 414
 Constitution, U. S., Bricker Amendment on treaty-making powers of Federal Government, 195
 Consular convention and supplementary protocol with Ireland, 802, 852
 Consular offices, U. S. *See under* Foreign Service
 Consulates general, Polish, in U. S., closing, 352
 Continental shelf:
 Doctrine, address (Phleger), 200
 Economic resources of, action by 10th Inter-American Conference, 636
 Contributions for relief, voluntary, article (Ringland), 384
 Conventional Armaments Commission, U. N., 986
 Copyright arrangement, U. S. and Japan, 514
 Copyright convention, universal:
 Pakistan, accession deposited, 1001
 Proposed amendments, statement (Kalljarvi), 530
 Copyright protection, international, statement (Kalljarvi), 530
 Costa Rica:
 Ambassador to U. S., credentials, 273
 U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298
 Cotton, U. S., credit to Japan for purchase and export, 57
 Cotton Advisory Committee, International, U. S. delegation to 13th plenary meeting, 930
 Coty, René:
 Correspondence with President Eisenhower upon fall of Dien-Bien-Phu, 745, 835
 Election as President of France, 47
 Council of Europe, 558
 Crowe, Philip, K., confirmation as U. S. representative, 10th session, Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, 337
 Cruickshank, Earl, tribute to, 826
 Crusade for Freedom, U. S. reply to Czech protest regarding release of balloons, 881
 Cuba:
 Claims, U. S., time extension for submission, 564
 Export-Import Bank loan, 479
 Industrial cooperation with U. S., address (Gardner), 158
 Nickel production, expansion, 122
 Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 GATT, third protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, signed, 965
 Geneva prisoners of war conventions (1949), ratification deposited, 884
 Postal convention, universal, ratification deposited, 803
 Sugar agreement, international, ratification deposited, 525

Cuba—Continued

Treaties, agreements, etc.—Continued
 War vessels, agreement with U. S. to facilitate informal visits, renewal, 884
 U. S. private investment, 731, 732
 Cultural Action, Committee for, membership, 638
 Cultural programs, inter-American, resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 637
 Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, Intergovernmental Conference on Protection of, U. S. delegation, 691
 Cultural relations, inter-American convention for promotion of:
 Revision, 637, 677
 Signatories, 803
 Cumming, Hugh S., Jr., confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Indonesia, 298
 Currency:
 Convertibility:
 President's message to Congress, 607, 841, 999
 Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 194, 324
 Price instability in primary commodities, statement (Hotchkis), 726
 Stability, basis of strong economy, address (Holland), 767
 Currency, foreign, availability for educational exchange, 889, 890
 Customs, international, automobiles and tourism, standardization and simplification of regulations, 119, 998
 Customs, U. S., administration and procedures for simplification, 192, 220, 604, 842, 968
 Cyprus, statement in U. N. by Greek representative, 276
 Czechoslovakia:
 Copper shipments from Turkey, 493
 Crusade for Freedom, U. S. reply to protest regarding release of balloons, 881
 Flier, request for asylum in Germany, 319
 Hvasta, John, release, 251, 273
 International Bank, suspension of membership in, 296
 Korea, false allegations by Czech member of NNSC against U. N. Command, 941, 944, 977
 Radio-control measures, 320
 Soviet domination, 421
 U. S. aircraft, attack on (1954), U. S. and Czech notes, 563
 U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298

Davies, John P., security hearing, statement (Dulles), 528
 Davis, Monnett, address (Russell) in tribute to, 207

Dean, Arthur H.:

Geneva political conference:
 Conference with President of Korea, 708
 Unavailability for service, 397
 Panmunjom negotiations for political conference on Korea, addresses: Dean, 15; McConaughy, 404; Nixon, 12
 Debts, German, external, agreement on, 160; current actions, 693, 733
 Debts, German Tripartite Commission for, completion of work and resignation of U. S. delegate, 69
 Defense, Department of, legislative proposals concerning declassification of atomic information, 305, 306

Defense program, U. S. *See* Military program

Dengin, Sergei, 510

Denmark:

Cultural exhibition in U. S., address (Robertson), 202
Treaties, agreements, etc.:

GATT, third protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, signed, 525

German external debts, ratification deposited, 693

Slavery convention of 1926, protocol amending, signed, 773

U. S. aid, continuance under Battle Act, 491

Dependent areas (*see also* Colonialism and Trust territories), Soviet policy, 742

Dien-Bien-Phu. *See under* Indochina

Diplomacy (*see also* Foreign Service):

Contributions of, address (Lodge), 722, 723

Tasks of, address (Russell), 207

Diplomatic asylum, convention on, 634

Diplomatic relations with Paraguay, resumption, 801

Diplomatic representatives in U. S., presentation of credentials: Austria, 443; Ceylon, 443; Costa Rica, 273; Japan, 465; Jordan, 24; Latvia, 882; Paraguay, 511; Yugoslavia, 624

Disarmament. *See* Armaments control and Atomic energy

Disarmament Commission, U. N.:

Documents, listed, 888

Efforts for armaments control, address (Wainhouse), 986

Subcommittee:

Address (Murphy), 786

Establishment, resolution, 687, 987

Meeting: Proposal for, 622

Statements (Lodge), 687

U. S. deputy representative appointed, 850

Displaced persons. *See* Refugees and displaced persons

Disputes, pacific settlement:

A basis of U. S. foreign policy, address (Wainhouse), 983

Proposed Charter amendments on veto regarding, 171, 451

Disputes arising under art. 15 (a) of peace treaty with Japan, agreement for settlement of:

Chile, entry into force, 852

Status of actions, by country, 568

Dixon, Donald, kidnapping by Chinese Communists, 685

Dollar position in world economy:

President's economic reports to Congress, 219, 602

Report of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 188

Review of ECE economic survey of Europe, 609, 610

Dominican Republic, agreement with U. S. amending vocational education program agreement, entry into force, 929

Dondero, Representative George A., remarks upon signing of St. Lawrence Seaway bill, 796

Dorsey, Stephen P., article on U. S. economic cooperation with Near East, 550

Double taxation, conventions for avoidance of, U. S. policy, 429, 730

Double taxation, conventions for avoidance of, with—
Australia, estate, gift, and income, entry into force, 22, 23, 525

Double taxation, conventions for avoidance of, with—
Continued

Belgium, estate, signed, 928, 929

Greece, estate and income, entry into force and proclaimed, 124, 525

Japan, estate and income, signed, 692, 733

Netherlands, request for extension to Antilles, 851

U. K., income tax, amendment and supplementary protocol, 884, 928

Dowling, Walter C., transmission of U. S. protest to Soviet Union in Khokhlov case, 671, 715

Dreier, John C., address on organizing security in the Americas, 830

Dulles, John Foster:

Addresses, statements, etc.:

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 281

Atomic Energy Act, amendment of, 926

"Atoms for Peace" proposals, statement on Soviet response to, 9

Bipartisan foreign policy, 801

British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, visit to U. S., 990

Captive peoples, U. S. policy, 824

Collective security, 459, 464, 540, 742, 744, 782, 862, 864, 921, 937, 971, 984, 990; London-Paris conversations on, 590, 622, 668, 743, 972

Colonial policy, U. S., 212, 275, 717

Communist threat, 379, 419, 459, 460, 464, 539, 579, 582, 583, 590, 705, 779, 914, 921, 924, 935, 937

Davies (John P.) security case, 528

Disarmament, 986, 987

Estonian Independence Day, 364

Ethiopia, visit of Emperor to U. S., 871

EDC, importance of, 580, 922, 937

European migration, 995

Forced Labor report, U. N., 422

Foreign Ministers' Meeting (*see also* Foreign Ministers' Meeting), 7, 110, 148, 179, 222, 266, 307, 343, 347, 379

Foreign policy, evolution of, 107

Foreign Service, effect of security program on, 169

Free world, U. S. policy of noncoercion, 848

Freedom, American, influence of business on, 837, 838

Freedom, challenge to, 779, 988

Geneva Conference, objectives and results, 317, 346, 513, 542, 590, 622, 623, 668, 669, 704, 739, 781, 924, 947, 990

Guatemala, Communist influence in, 873, 950, 981

Honduras, strike in, 801

Human rights and freedoms, 422, 423, 425

India, U. S. economic aid to, 580, 923

Indochina:

Appropriations (1955) for mutual security program, 582, 924

Communist aggression and U. S. policy in, 43, 512, 582, 589, 622, 623, 668, 924

Geneva Conference consideration of. *See* Geneva Conference

Inter-American Conference, 10th. *See* Inter-American Conference

International unity, 935

Iran, upon presentation of credentials by Ambassador, 280

Dulles, John Foster—Continued

Addresses, statements, etc.—Continued

Iranian oil negotiations, 583

Japan, U. S. aid, 581, 924

Korea:

Geneva Conference consideration of. *See* Geneva Conference

Mutual defense treaty, 133

Prisoners of war, unrepatriated, release, 153

Rehabilitation, 1955 appropriations, 581, 924

U. S. troops, withdrawal, 42

Latin America, technical cooperation program, 1955 appropriations, 581, 923

Latvia, Republic of, upon presentation of letters of appointment of Chargé, 882

Malaya, progress against Communism, 914

Middle East, Near East, and South Asia, U. S. policy, 209, 210, 212, 214, 274, 275, 327, 329, 330, 445, 550, 580, 590, 622, 668, 743, 781, 923, 972

Mutual security program, 1955 appropriations, 579, 921

New Year message, 82

NATO:

Appropriations (1955), 579, 921

Fifth anniversary, 561

Ministerial meeting, NAC, 668

Report on, 3

U. S. policy toward, 937

Pakistan-Turkey treaty of cooperation, 581, 923

Rumania, national holiday, 755

Ryukyu Islands (Amami-Oshima group), U. S. relinquishment of rights under Japanese peace treaty, 17

Security, national and collective, 464

Security in the Pacific, 971

Spain, base arrangement, 580, 922

Thai request for peace observation mission, 974

Turkey, visit of President to U. S., 162

Turkey, visit of Prime Minister to U. S., 879

United Nations, support of, 935

U. N. Charter, review of, 170, 397, 642, 644, 645

U. S. attitude toward free nations, 434

Voluntary foreign aid, 383

Administrative actions:

Immigration and nationality laws, administration of, 23

Inspection service, Department and Foreign Service, reorganization, 774

Philippine-U. S. mutual defense matters, establishment of Council, 973

Soviet allegations against Austrian Government, instruction to U. S. representative on Allied Council, 824

Article on policy for security and peace, 459

Correspondence, messages, reports, etc.:

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan agreement, congratulations to signatories, 281

Belgium, upon ratification of EDC treaty, 433

Educational exchange, transmittal to Congress of semiannual report, 499

Germany, upon ratification of EDC treaty, 554

Haiti, on sesquicentennial of independence, 53

Hvasta release from Czechoslovakia, 273, 479

Dulles, John Foster—Continued

Correspondence, messages, reports, etc.—Con.

Libby Dam, application for construction, 878

Mindszenty imprisonment, 5th anniversary, 47

Mutual defense treaty with Korea:

Message to Senate Foreign Relations Committee upon Senate approval, 208

Report to President, 132

Rumanian Legation publications in U. S., ban on, 48

Tripartite Commission on German Debts, acceptance of resignation of U. S. delegate, 69

Turkish President, visit to U. S., 162

Wriston report, 1002

Discussions and meetings (*see also subject*):

Atomic energy talks with Soviet Union, 110, 465

Foreign policy conference at White House, 79

Tribute from President Eisenhower, 702

Dunn, James Clement, addresses on economic and military agreements with Spain, 476, 960

East-West trade. *See* under Trade

Eban, Abba, statements in Security Council, 330, 331, 332

ECE. *See* Economic Commission for Europe, U. N.

Economic aid to foreign countries. *See* Agricultural surpluses; Export-Import Bank; Mutual security and assistance programs; and United Nations: Technical assistance program

Economic and Social Council, Inter-American, recommendations of 10th Inter-American Conference, 636, 676

Economic and Social Council, U. N.:

Consultative status for U. S. and International Junior Chambers of Commerce, 826

Documents, listed, 68, 174, 526, 573, 607, 679, 715, 888, 993

Human Rights Commission, message of President Eisenhower to, 374, 397

Transport and Communications Commission, appointment of U. S. representative on, 686

U. S. representative (Hotchkis):

Confirmation, 337

Statements: Economic policy, U. S., toward underdeveloped countries, 725; forced labor, 804; freedom of information, 682

Work of:

Motor traffic, international, efforts to facilitate, 117, 118, 120

Private foreign investment, resolution recommending measures to attract, 730n, 827

Work of 17th session, statement (Lodge), 849

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, U. N., statement (Lodge), 849

Economic Commission for Europe, U. N.:

Annual economic survey of Europe, statement (Brown), 608

Statement (Lodge), 849

Economic Cooperation, European Organization for, 180, 557, 558

Economic Development, Committee for, remarks before (Dulles, Eisenhower), 837

Economic Development Commission, Joint Brazil-U. S., recommendations on Brazilian coastal fleet, 533, 952

Economic Policy, Foreign, Commission on. *See* Foreign Economic Policy Commission

Economic policy and relations, U. S. (*see also individual countries*):

Aid to foreign countries. *See* Agricultural surpluses; Export-Import Bank; and Mutual security and assistance programs

Benefits from U. N. participation, address (Key), 826
Cooperation with—

Latin America. *See* Latin America

Near East. *See* Near and Middle East

Underdeveloped areas (*see also* Mutual security and assistance programs), addresses and statements: Hotchkis, 725; Key, 826

Domestic economy, addresses and statements:

Conditions in U. S. (Waugh), 428, 485

Effect on European economy (Brown), 609

Foreign misconceptions (Woodward), 235, 236

President's messages to Congress, 78, 219

Private enterprise system (Holland), 766

Economic arrangements agreement with Japan. *See under* Japan: Treaties

Economic defense policy, U. S., 491, 843

Foreign economic policy (*see also* Foreign Economic Policy Commission):

Address and statement (Waugh), 321, 427

President's economic report to Congress (Jan. 1954) 219, 321, 428

President's message to Congress embodying recommendation of Foreign Economic Policy Commission (Mar. 1954), 602 (text), 703, 767, 841, 962

Trade policies. *See* Tariff policy and Trade

ECOSOC. *See* Economic and Social Council, U. N.

Ecuador:

Export-Import Bank credit, 123, 731

International Bank loan, 326

Peruvian boundary dispute, conciliation, 468, 678

Quito, site of 11th Inter-American Conference, 638

Trade agreement with U. S., possible amendment, 173

EDC. *See* European Defense Community

Eden, Anthony:

Anglo-Egyptian Accord, statement, 281

German unification plan, proposed at Berlin meeting, 179, 184, 185, 186, 227, 313

Indochina and Southeast Asia, joint statement with U. S. on Communist aggression in, 622, 743

London Foreign Ministers' Meeting (1953), joint communiqué on Qibiya incident, 329

Visit to U. S., proposed, 989, 991

Education:

Agreement with Dominican Republic amending vocational education program agreement of 1951, entry into force, 929

Opportunities for women, UNESCO report, 649, 650

Education and Freedom—Core of the American Dream, address (Eisenhower), 899

Educational exchange, U. S. and U. K., address (Aldrich), 591

Educational exchange program, international:

Addresses: Eisenhower, 902, Riley, 162; Streibert, 205

Convention for promotion of cultural relations, revision, 637

With Germany, West, 5th anniversary, 272

With India, 596

Educational exchange program, international—Con.

President's budget message to Congress, 145, 146, 147, 148

Report on activities under Fulbright Act (Jan. 1–Dec. 31, 1953), 889

Semiannual report of State Department (July 1–Dec. 31, 1953), 499

Semiannual report of U. S. Advisory Commission, 572

Educational Exchange Service, Department of State, studies, 663, 666

Edwards, Isaac, retirement from State Department, 774

Egypt:

Anglo-Egyptian controversy, article on developments in 1953 (Howard), 280

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, elections in, 213

Arab refugee problem, 96, 97, 99, 553

Claims against former dynasty, legislation on, 112

Export-Import Bank loan, 370, 553

Jordan Valley project (*see also under* Jordan River), discussions, 913

Liberation Day, 281

Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental, convention on, acceptance, 773

Shipping restrictions, Israeli complaint, 569

Suez Base negotiations, 213

U. S. economic and technical aid, 367, 551, 553

Eisenbud, Merrill, investigation of atomic injury to Japanese seamen, 598

Eisenhower, Dwight D.:

Addresses, statements, etc.:

Americans traveling abroad, 663

Arab states, U. S. relations with, 209, 274

Atomic energy proposals. *See* "Atoms for Peace"

Austrian state treaty, 308

Cooperative Peace through International Understanding, 699

Disarmament proposals, 986

Education and freedom, 899

Ethiopia, toast to Emperor at state dinner, 870

EDC treaty: German ratification, 554; Luxembourg ratification, 621; Netherlands action, 142

Foreign policy, remarks before U. S. Chamber of Commerce, 702

Free world, U. S. policy of noncoercion, 849

Freedom, American, influence of business on, 837

Geneva Conference, Korean unification and U. S. policy in Southeast Asia, 740

Inaugural address, excerpt, 274

Korea, reduction of U. S. ground forces, 14, 42, 264, 462

Mexican migrant labor, legislation on, 468

Normandy landing, anniversary, 959

NATO, 5th anniversary, 561

Pakistan, military aid to, 401, 447

St. Lawrence Seaway bill, 796

Technical cooperation program, 873

United Nations, need for, 171, 451, 452

Unity among free nations, 434

Wool import policy, 381, 393

Appointment of Eric Johnston on Near East mission, 211, 368

Award of Legion of Merit to Turkish President, 249

Eisenhower, Dwight D.—Continued
 Correspondence, messages, etc.:
 Atomic energy exhibition in Rome, 982
 Dien-Bien-Phu, messages to President of France and
 Chief of State of Viet-Nam, 542, 745, 835
 Egypt, Liberation Day, 281
 EDC, U. S. position:
 Letter to President of France, 991
 Message to six signatories, 619
 Foreign economic policy:
 Exchange of correspondence with Charles H. Percy,
 841
 Foreign Economic Policy Commission report, trans-
 mittal to executive departments, 195
 France, on EDC and Indochina, 990
 Haiti, on sesquicentennial of independence, 53
 Human Rights Commission, 374, 397
 Iranian Prime Ministers, regarding oil dispute with
 U. K., 279, 280
 Korea:
 Custodian Forces, India, tribute to, 334
 Governors' visit to, 273, 836
 Mindszenty imprisonment, 5th anniversary, 273
 Nehru, explaining U. S. military aid to Pakistan, 400,
 447, 594
 Rye imports, investigation, 22
 Saudi Arabia, upon death of King, 213
 Scissors and shears, decision not to increase duty on,
 840
 Tung imports, directive to investigate effect on price-
 support program, 839
 United Nations Day, 771
 Executive orders. *See* Executive orders
 Meetings with Government leaders on Export-Import
 Bank organization changes, 991
 Messages, reports, and letters to Congress:
 Atomic energy, development and control, 8, 8n, 77,
 144, 145
 Atomic Energy Act, proposed amendments, 303
 Battle Act, continuance of aid to certain countries,
 491
 Budget message (1953), on mutual security program,
 366
 Budget message (1954), 143, 237, 238, 239, 366n
 Economic report, 219, 321, 428
 Foreign aid (1953), extension, 210
 Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, establish-
 ment (Reorganization Plan No. 1), 811
 Foreign economic policy recommendations, 602, 703,
 767, 841, 962
 Mutual defense treaty with Korea, transmittal to
 Senate, 131
 Mutual security program, report to Congress (June
 30-Dec. 31, 1953), 484
 Reconstruction Finance Corp., liquidation of certain
 affairs of (Reorganization Plan No. 2), 813
 State of the Union message, 75, 274, 371
 Trade agreements, report on escape clauses, 173
 Treaty-making functions of Federal Government
 (Bricker Amendment), letter to Senator Knowland,
 195

Eisenhower, Dwight D.—Continued
 Proclamations. *See* Proclamations.
 Tribute to John Foster Dulles, 702
 Views on NATO report by Secretary Dulles, 7
 Eisenhower, Milton, views on private enterprise in Latin
 America, 159, 235, 360, 381, 764, 991
 Eisenhower exchange fellowships, 591
 El Salvador:
 International Bank loan, 396, 828
 Military aviation mission agreement with U. S., exten-
 sion, 693
 Telecommunication convention, international, accession
 deposited, 773
 Visa fees and tourist and immigration charges, agree-
 ment with U. S. for abolishment, 773
 Elbrick, C. Burke:
 Address on objectives of U. S. policy in Europe, 555
 Designation in State Department, 966
 Elliot, W. G., 3d, article on international motor traffic agree-
 ments, 117
 Elizabeth, Queen Mother of England, visit to U. S., 327
 Embargo on East-West trade:
 China and North Korea, 41, 42, 111, 112, 194, 563, 626,
 845, 848, 861
 FOA report on Battle Act operations, 843
 Enciso-Velloso, Guillermo, credentials as Ambassador of
 Paraguay to U. S., 511
 Enemy property, conflicting claims to:
 Agreement with Norway, 772, 1001
 Discussions with U. K., 590
 Entezam, Nazrollah, designation as Ambassador of Iran
 in U. S., 280
 Equal pay convention, status, 647
 Equipment, return of, arrangements with Japan, 613:
 Joint communique, 518
 Question of Senate action, 570
 Text, 522
 Escape clauses in trade agreements, report on:
 Messages of President to Congress, 173, 603
 Recommendation of Commission on Foreign Economic
 Policy, 193
 Escapees. *See* Refugees and displaced persons
 Estate-tax conventions. *See* Double taxation
 Estonia:
 Independence Day, 364
 Soviet absorption, addresses and statements; Dulles,
 267, 269; Merchant, 819, 820; Smith, 942
 Ethiopia:
 Defense installations, agreement with U. S., 871
 Emperor Haile Selassie I, visit to U. S., 112, 787:
 Address before joint session of Congress, 867
 State dinner at White House, toast, 870
 Statement (Dulles), 871
 Export-Import Bank loans, 370, 553, 731
 Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
 International Bank loan, 371, 553
 U. S. economic and technical aid, 369, 370, 553, 869
 Europe (*see also individual countries*):
 Captive peoples, statement (Dulles), 824
 Collective security. *See* European Defense Community;
 European treaty for collective security; Foreign Min-
 isters' Meeting; and North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-
 tion

Europe—Continued

- Division of, statements (Dulles), 268, 312, 313
- Economic conditions in Eastern Europe, 611, 823
- Economic improvement in Western Europe, 189, 220, 250, 485, 557, 580, 608, 844, 922
- Economic survey by ECE, statement (Brown), 608
- Educational exchange program, 503
- Foreign Relations* volumes on, released, 852, 966
- Migration. *See* Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
- Private investment, U.S. equity in Western Europe, 121
- Refugees. *See* Refugees and displaced persons
- U. S. aid. *See* Mutual security and assistance programs
- U. S. policy objectives, address (Elbrick), 555
- U. S. voluntary relief, article (Ringland), 383
- Unity (*see also* European Coal and Steel Community; European Defense Community; European Economic Cooperation, Organization for; European Political Community; and North Atlantic Treaty Organization), address on process of federating Europe (Bowie), 139
- Europe, Council of, 558
- Europe, Economic Commission for:
 - Annual economic survey, statement (Brown), 608
 - Statement (Lodge), 849
- European Coal and Steel Community:
 - Creation and operation, 7, 140, 141, 558
 - Statements (Dulles), 180, 185
- U. S. loan:
 - Negotiations and communique, 327, 562, 622, 671 (text)
 - Remarks at signing of agreement (Smith, Monnet, Potthoff, Giaccherio), 672
- European Defense Community:
 - Addresses, statements, etc.: Bowie, 141; Conant, 750; Dulles, 5, 109, 180, 185, 227, 461, 562, 580, 922, 937; Eisenhower, 7, 76, 143; Elbrick, 558, 559; Lodge, 747; Matthews, 437, 438; Morton, 292, 293, 362; Murphy, 475; Smith, 265
 - NATO ministerial meetings, support of, 8, 670
 - Soviet attacks on, 180, 265, 314, 344, 362, 757, 758, 822, 880
- U. K. position:
 - Policy statement, 620, 748
 - Statement (Dulles), 185
- U. S. position (*see also* Addresses, etc., *supra*):
 - Letter of President Eisenhower to President Coty of France, 990
 - Message of President Eisenhower to six signatories, 619, 748
- European Defense Community treaty, ratifications:
 - Belgium, message (Dulles), 433
 - Germany, message and statement (Dulles, Eisenhower), 554
 - Luxembourg, statement (Eisenhower), 621
 - Netherlands, statement and remarks (Eisenhower, Smith), 142, 433
- European Economic Cooperation, Organization for, 189, 557, 558
- European Migration, Intergovernmental Committee for. *See* Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
- European Political Community, projected, 141, 558

European treaty for collective security, Soviet proposals for:

- Proposals of Feb. 10:
 - Draft, 269, 401
 - Statements (Dulles), 267, 379
- Proposals of Mar. 31:
 - Department views, 562
 - Text, 757
 - U. S. reply, 756
- Exchange program. *See* Educational exchange program
- Executive agreements. *See* Treaties, agreements, etc., and country or subject
- Executive orders:
 - Foreign Service personnel assigned to USIA, 573
 - Mutual Security Act, exemption of functions authorized by, 481
 - OAS, extension of benefits to, 951
 - St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corp., designating Secretary of Defense to direct, 959
- Export-Import Bank:
 - Functions, 382, 606, 728; transfer from Reconstruction Finance Corp., 813
 - Loans to: Afghanistan, 836; Cuba, 479; Ecuador, 123; Japan, 57; Latin America, 237, 731, 769, 770, 877; Near East, South Asia, and Africa, 368, 369, 370, 553, 731; New Zealand, 326
 - Organization changes, proposed, 991
 - Report for 6 months ended Dec. 31, 1953, 89, 479
- Exports, U. S. (*see also* Trade):
 - Communist China, embargo on exports to, 41, 42, 111, 112, 194, 563, 626, 845, 848, 861
 - Export-licensing regulations, 157, 321
 - Hong Kong, liberalization of regulations, U. S., 112, 157
 - North Korea, embargo on exports to, 111, 112, 194, 563, 845
 - Soviet bloc, U. S. policy, 111, 157, 194, 321, 845
 - Strategic materials. *See* Strategic materials
 - War materials, convictions for illegal export, 567
- Exports of tin, controls under international tin agreement, 245
- Expropriation of lands of U. S. company by Guatemala, U. S. claim and proposed arbitration, 678, 938, 950
- Expropriation policies, impediment to foreign investment, 728, 729, 766
- External debts, German, agreement on, 160; current actions, 693, 733
- Facio, Antonio A., credentials as Costa Rican Ambassador to U. S., 273
- Fairless, Benjamin F., statement on labor-management relations, 159
- Far East (*see also* individual countries):
 - Educational exchange program in, 505
 - FOA missions, directors' meeting in Manila, 333
 - Foreign Relations*, volume on, released, 734
 - Military Tribunal. *See* Military Tribunal Far East
 - U. S. military forces in, statements: Dulles, 42, 43; Eisenhower, 14, 42, 264, 462
 - U. S. responsibilities in, address (Robertson), 348
 - U. S. voluntary relief in, article (Ringland), 383
- Farley, John L., U. S. commissioner, Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, 640

Farm labor, migrant labor agreement with Mexico. *See under Mexico*

Farm surpluses. *See Agricultural surpluses*

Federal National Mortgage Association, functions, transfer from Reconstruction Finance Corp., 813

Federal procurement, recommendations for revision of legislation governing, 192, 605, 841

Ferguson, Senator Homer, remarks upon signing of St. Lawrence Seaway bill, 796

Fernos-Isern, Antonio, action in U. N., 373

Film Festival, International, in Brazil, U. S. delegation, 298

Finance or Economy, Meeting of Ministers of, projected, address (Holland), 764, 765

Financial stabilization, Korea, U. S.-Korean agreement, 65

Fine, John S., visit to Korea, 836

Finland:

- Cultural exhibition in U. S., address (Robertson), 202
- Slavery convention of 1926, protocol amending, acceptance deposited, 773

Fisheries Commission, International North Pacific, meeting and headquarters, 165, 297, 327, 515

Fisheries commissions, international, appointments to, 640

Fisheries control, international law developments, address (Phleger), 200

Five-power conference, Soviet attempts for, 81, 181, 182, 183, 222, 223, 292, 346, 404, 405

Floods, Netherlands, acknowledgement of U. S. aid, 142

FOA. *See Foreign Operations Administration*

Food and Agriculture Organization, U. N., work of, 396, 828

Food-package program abroad, U. S., 489

Forced labor behind the Iron Curtain, report of U. N. *ad hoc* committee, addresses and statements: Dulles, 422; Hotchkis, 804; Key, 976; Lodge, 849

Ford, Henry II, statement on U. S. support of U. N. technical aid program, 370, 373

Foreign aid (*see also Agricultural surpluses; Economic policy and relations, U. S.; Mutual security and assistance programs; United Nations: Technical assistance program; and individual countries*):

- Total since 1941, 366
- Voluntary aid. *See Voluntary foreign aid*

Foreign Buildings Architectural Advisory Board, establishment, 169

Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, transmittal to Congress of Reorganization Plan No. 1 for establishment, 811

Foreign Economic Policy Commission (Randall Commission), report:

- Addresses, statements, etc.: Brown, 610; Dorsey, 553; Murphy, 517; Robertson, 233, 350; Smith, 265; Waugh, 321

Excerpts, 187

FOA semiannual report, 847

President's economic report to Congress (Jan. 1954), 220, 222

President's foreign economic policy recommendations to Congress (Mar. 1954), 602 (text), 703, 767, 841, 962

Transmittal to Department heads, 195

Foreign investments. *See Investment of private capital abroad and Investments*

Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Berlin:

Addresses and statements: Byroade, 440; Dulles, 7, 110, 148, 179, 222, 266, 307, 343, 347, 379; Matthews, 437; McConaughy, 402; McLeod, 469; Morton, 292, 362; Murphy, 288, 473, 474, 475; Smith, 265, 358

Austrian settlement:

- Austrian plea for consideration and U. S. reply, 111
- Soviet proposal, 318
- Statements, addresses, etc.: Byroade, 440; Dulles, 7, 110, 148, 179, 181, 182, 307, 309, 310, 313, 315; Dulles, post-conference reports, 344, 345, 347; Matthews, 438; McConaughy, 402, 403

Buildings for meeting, 110

Collective security:

- Soviet draft proposals for general European treaty, 269, 401; statements (Dulles), 267, 379
- Statements (Dulles), 180, 184, 225, 226, 227, 267, 311
- Date of meeting, Soviet postponement, 9, 43
- European treaty for collective security, Soviet proposal for (*see also European treaty for collective security*):

 - Draft, 269, 401
 - Statements (Dulles), 267, 379

Five-power conference, Soviet proposal for:

- Soviet statement, 81
- Statements (Dulles), 181, 182, 183, 222, 223, 346

Geneva Conference, provision for. *See Geneva Conference*

Germany, Soviet proposal for withdrawal of occupation forces:

- Draft, 270
- Statements and address: Dulles, 268, 315; McConaughy, 403

Germany, unification:

- Eden proposal, 179, 184, 185, 186 (text), 227, 313
- Soviet proposals, 224, 224n, 228 (text), 265
- Statements and addresses: Byroade, 440; Dulles, 7, 110, 148, 179, 182, 183, 184, 223, 226, 227, 266, 309, 316; Dulles, post-conference reports, 344, 345, 347; Matthews, 438; McConaughy, 402, 403; Morton, 292; Smith, 265

Korean political conference, decision to hold at Geneva. *See Geneva Conference*

NAC endorsement of proposed meeting at Berlin, 8

Results and significance:

- Addresses: Dulles, 343, 347; Matthews, 437; McConaughy, 402; McLeod, 469; Smith, 358
- Quadrupartite communique, statement (Dulles) and text, 317
- Tripartite communique, 318

Foreign Operations Administration (*see also Mutual security and assistance programs*):

- Creation and operation, 489
- Directors of FOA missions, conferences in Far East, 333; in Latin America, 121

Foreign policy:

- Addresses and statements (*see also subject*): Dulles, 107, 464, 801, 838, 921; Morton, 361; Murphy, 287; Smith, 263
- Conference at White House, 79
- Legislation, current. *See Legislation*
- "Long haul" concept, 3, 109, 263, 363, 462, 559, 580, 922

Foreign Relations of the United States, volumes published.
See under Publications
 Foreign Scholarships, Board of, responsibilities in educational exchange programs, 893
 Foreign Service (*see also* State Department):
 Administration of immigration and nationality laws, regulation on, 23
 Appointments and confirmations, 298, 337, 694
 Chancery in Pakistan, construction, 760
 Consular offices:
 Mexico, reorganization, 852
 Puerto Cortes, Honduras, closing, 654
 Davies (John P.) case, statement (Dulles), 528
 Inspection system, 774
 Personnel, Public Committee on, formation and 1st meeting, 413; report, 1002
 Personnel assigned to USIA, 573
 Problems and need for public support, address (Cabot), 353
 Resignation of Warren Lee Pierson as U. S. delegate to Tripartite Commission on German Debts, 69
 Role in diplomacy, address (Russell), 207
 Security program, 169, 469
 Selection Boards, meeting and membership, 529
 Tributes to, 263, 287, 353, 360, 722
 Wriston report, correspondence (Dulles, Wriston), 1002
 Foreign Service Institute, strengthening, 1003
 Foreign students in U. S. *See* Educational exchange
 Foreign trade. *See* Trade
 Formosa. *See* China, Republic of
 Four-power meeting, Berlin. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting
 France:
 Cameroons, administration as trust territory, 336, 718
 Cherbourg, Memorial Day ceremonies, 959
 Disarmament:
 Efforts in U. N., 986
 Member, U. N. Disarmament Subcommittee, 687, 688
 East-West trade talks with U. S. and U. K., 563
 European Defense Community, position on. *See* European Defense Community
 Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Berlin. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting
 Freight handling, study of U. S. methods under technical aid program, 272
 French West Africa, International Bank loan, 992
 Geneva Conference. *See* Geneva Conference
 Germany:
 Efforts to restore interzonal freedom of movement, 508, 879
 Patent Appeal Board, membership, 913
 Germany, East, joint declaration on Soviet claim for "sovereignty" of, 588
 Indochina. *See* Indochina
 Jordan Valley project, draft resolution in Security Council, 58, 59, 297
 Military talks with U. S., 948
 Moroccan situation, addresses: Howard, 332; Jenkins, 632; Sanger, 213
 Normandy, anniversary of Allied landing, statement (Eisenhower), 959
 President, election, 47

France—Continued

Togoland, administration as trust territory, 716, 718
 Tribute to fighting forces (Lodge) (*see also* Indochina: Dien-Bien-Phu), 747
 Tunisian situation, address (Howard), 332
 U. S. economic and technical aid, 272, 491, 641
 Free enterprise system, American (*see also* Private enterprise), remarks (Dulles, Eisenhower), 837
 Free world unity, maintenance of, statements (Dulles), 583, 921
 Freedom, challenge to, address (Dulles), 779, 988
 Freedom, individual, basic philosophy of U. S., statement (Waugh), 427
 Freedom, influence of business on, remarks (Dulles, Eisenhower), 837
 Freedom and education, address (Eisenhower), 899
 Freedom and human rights, message to Human Rights Commission (Eisenhower), 374, 397
 Freight handling, French study of U. S. methods, 272
 French, John C., designation in State Department, 774
 French West Africa, International Bank loan, 992
Fukuryu Maru, Japanese ship, radioactivity from Marshall Islands detonation, 466, 598
 Fulbright Act. *See* Educational exchange program
 Gardner, Arthur, address on U. S.-Cuban industrial cooperation, 158
 GATT. *See* Tariffs and trade, general agreement on
 Gaza, Arab refugee problem, 96, 97, 99, 553
 General Assembly, U. N. (*see also* United Nations):
 Burma, evacuation of foreign forces, statements (Carey), 32
 Documents, listed, 34, 67, 131, 174, 526, 607, 715, 888
 Germ warfare charges against U. S. by Communists, disproval, 976
 Increase in powers (*see also* "Uniting for Peace" resolution), 252, 253, 395, 644
 Indian attempt to reconvene 8th session, 256
 Moroccan situation, action on, 332
 Palestine question, action on. *See* Jordan River and Palestine question
 Relationship to Administrative Tribunal, request for advisory opinion of Court in U. N. awards case, 34, 199, 482, 963
 Trusteeship problems, resolutions on, 719
 Tunisian situation, action on, 332
 U. S. representatives at 8th session, list of statements, 34
 Voting procedure, proposed changes, 172
 Geneva Conference (1954):
 Berlin quadripartite communique providing for conference, 317, 347
 Chinese students in U. S., statement by U. S. delegation, 949
 Dean, Arthur H., unavailability for Geneva Conference, 397
 Indochina phase, discussions for restoration of peace:
 Addresses, statements, etc.: Dulles, 346, 513, 739, 947; Eisenhower, 740
 Armistice proposals, French:
 Statements: Dulles, 744, 782; Smith, 784
 Text, 784

Geneva Conference—Continued

- Indochina phase, discussions for restoration of peace—Continued
 - Armistice proposals, Viet Minh, statement (Dulles), 781
 - Basic issues, statement (Smith), 942
 - Consultations and joint statements, U. S.-U. K. and U. S.-French, 590, 622, 623, 668
 - Participants, statement (Smith), 783
 - Viet Minh and Communist charges against U. S., statements (Smith), 783, 942
- Korean phase:
 - Addresses, statements, etc.: Dulles, 542, 668, 669, 704, 739, 947; Eisenhower, 740; Jenkins, 626, 627; Key, 395, 977; Martin, 543; McConaughy, 403, 404; Murphy, 432, 475; Smith, 915, 940
 - Conference between President Rhee and Ambassador Dean regarding, 708
 - Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Berlin, proposals for political conference, 317, 318, 345, 346, 347, 404
 - Free elections:
 - North Korean proposals, statement (Smith), 940
 - South Korean proposals, 918
 - Invitations, 347
 - Sixteen-nation declaration, 973
- Objectives:
 - Addresses, statements, etc.: Dulles, 317, 343, 346, 513, 542, 590, 622, 623, 668, 669, 704, 739; Eisenhower, 703, 740; Jenkins, 860; McConaughy, 404, 405; Smith, 744
- Results, statements (Dulles), 781, 924, 947, 990
- Thal appeal to U. N. for peace observation mission, question of effect on Conference, 936
- U. S. citizens detained in Communist China, discussions for release of, 949, 950
- U. S. Delegation, 669, 670
- Geneva conventions on treatment of prisoners of war, wounded and sick, and civilians (1949):
 - Address (Phleger), 201
 - Current actions on, 773, 884, 1001
- Genocide convention:
 - Soviet ratification deposited, 884
 - Summary of action on, 882
- Geographical misconceptions, address (Boggs), 903
- Georgescu boys, freed by Rumania, 640
- Gerig, Benjamin, article on African trust territories, 716
- Germ warfare charges by Communists against U. S., disapproval, 724, 976, 986
- German Debts, Tripartite Commission for, completion of work and resignation of U. S. delegate, 69
- Germany:
 - Berlin:
 - Economic reconstruction in West Berlin, article (Woodward), 584
 - Foreign Ministers' Meeting. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting
 - Czech flier, request for asylum in U. S. zone, 319
 - Democratic future for, address (Conant), 750
 - Educational exchange program with West Germany, 5th anniversary, 272
 - EDC participation:
 - Desirability of, 109, 227, 580, 922

Germany—Continued

- EDC participation—Continued
 - Ratification of EDC treaty, 554
 - Soviet views, 758
- Foreign policy documents, 1918-45*, 8th volume, released by State Department, 1005
- Free elections and unification, proposals for. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting
- Interzonal freedom of movement, Allied efforts to restore, 508, 879
- Korea, Red Cross hospital for, 270, 568
- NATO participation, question of, 561, 562
- Occupation forces, Soviet proposals for withdrawal.
 - Addresses and statements: Dulles, 268, 315; McConaughy, 403
 - Draft proposals, 270
- Patent Appeal Board, establishment by Allied High Commission, 913
- Rearmament (*see also* European Defense Community and Foreign Ministers' Meeting), addresses: Bowle, 141; Dulles, 5, 6, 109; Morton, 292
- Refugees:
 - East German, flight to the West, 206, 225, 754, 787, 825
 - Migration to U. S. under Refugee Relief Act, 790, 800
- Securities:
 - Belgian securities in, Belgian registration requirements, 673
 - Restoration of U. S. trading in, 159
- Soviet assassination plots, 671
- Soviet claim of "sovereignty" for East Germany, 511, 588, 670, 825
- Soviet objectives, address (Conant), 754
- Soviet system for "free" elections, 224, 266, 344
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - EDC treaty, and convention on relations with Federal Republic, ratification by Federal Republic, 554
 - German external debts, agreement on, 160; current actions, 693, 733
 - Red Cross hospital for Korea, agreement between U. S. and Federal Republic, 270, 568
 - Relations between the three powers and the Federal Republic, ratification deposited, 653
 - Tax treatment of armed forces in Germany, ratification deposited by Federal Republic, 653
 - Unification. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting
 - U. S. food parcels for East Germany, 489
- Giacchero, Enzo, remarks upon U. S. loan to European Coal and Steel Community, 672
- Gibson, Hugh, statement at 7th session of Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, 994
- Gift-tax convention, U. S. and Australia, entry into force, 22
- Gilliland, Whitney, member, War Claims Commission, 24
- Global relations of the U. S., article (Boggs), 903
- Gold Coast, self-rule, 336, 717, 718
- Gottwald, Polish ship, U. S. rejection of Polish charge of interception, 824
- Governors, U. S., visit to Korea, 273, 836
- Grant-aid. *See* Mutual security and assistance programs
- Greece:
 - Air and naval bases, U. S., Soviet protest, 277

Greece—Continued

- Border disturbances: Albanian, 276n; Bulgarian, 276; U. N. observation, 978
- Children, repatriation, 276
- Cyprus, statement in U. N. by Greek representative, 276
- Export-Import Bank loan, 370
- Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
- Greece and Free World Defense, address (Byroade), 439
- King and Queen, visit to U. S., 276
- Migration to U. S. under Refugee Relief Act, address (Auerbach), 797
- NATO membership, 277, 440, 441
- Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Postal convention, universal, ratification deposited, 803
 - Tax conventions with U. S., income and estate, entry into force and proclaimed, 124, 525
 - Tripartite Balkan Pact (with Turkey and Yugoslavia), addresses and articles on, 248, 276, 365, 441
 - U. S. aid, 366, 367, 439, 440, 674
- Green, Senator Theodore F., member, U. S. delegation, 10th Inter-American Conference, 383, 430
- Grevenstein, J. A. U. M. van, conferences on Netherlands refugee problem, 714
- Grew, Joseph C., opinion on effect of security program on Foreign Service, 169
- Gross, Ernst, memorandum as Swiss member, NNSC, Korea, 941, 944
- Gross, John E., member, U. S.-Mexican Migratory Labor Commission, 565
- Gruber, Karl, credentials as Austrian Ambassador to U. S., 443
- Guatemala:
 - Communism in:
 - Address and statement: Dulles, 873, Smith, 360
 - Charges of U. S. intervention, 251
 - Foreign ministers, question of meeting to consider, 950, 981
 - Guatemalan position on international communism, 419, 420n, 429, 634, 834, 873, 938
 - Revolt against Communist intervention, Department statements, 981
 - Expropriation of land of United Fruit Co., U. S. claim and proposed arbitration, 678, 938, 950
 - Honduras, Communist activities in, 801
 - Soviet arms shipment to, 835; statements (Dulles), 874, 938, 950
 - U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298
- Guinea, Spanish, application of World Meteorological Organization convention to, 733
- Gunewardene, R. S. S., credentials as Ambassador of Ceylon to U. S., 443
- Hagerty, James C., statements:
 - Foreign Economic Policy Commission report, 195
 - Foreign policy conference at White House, 79
- Hahn, Mrs. Lorena B., statements in U. N. on status of women, 646
- Haile Selassie I. *See* Ethiopia
- Haiti:
 - GATT, third protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, signed, 852

Haiti—Continued

- Independence, sesquicentennial, 53
- Visual and auditory materials, agreement for circulation of, acceptance deposited, 965
- Halibut fishery convention with Canada, 525
- Halpern, Philip, designation on U. N. Minorities Sub-commission, 59
- Hammarskjöld, Dag, annual report on U. N., 275
- Haya de la Torre asylum case, Colombia and Peru, 634
- Health Organization, World. *See* World Health Organization
- Heltberg, A. G., remarks, Memorial Day ceremonies at Cherbourg, 959
- Hemisphere projections, article (Boggs), 903
- Hensel, H. Struve, address on foreign trade and military policy, 919
- Hickenlooper, Senator Bourke B., member, U. S. delegation, 10th Inter-American Conference, 383, 430
- Hill, Robert C., confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, 298
- Hilles, Charles D., Jr., appointment as special legal adviser to U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, 694
- Ho Chi-Minh, activities in Indochina, 539, 543, 582, 740, 924, 937
- Hoagland, Warren E., U. S. representative, negotiations on surplus property payments, 338
- Holland, Henry F.:
 - Addresses: Economic relations with Latin America, 764, 953; Pan American Day, 675, 677
 - Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, confirmation, 413
 - Delegate, 10th Inter-American Conference, 383, 430
 - Member, Railway Congress commission, 963
- Honduras:
 - Communist-inspired strike, 801
 - Puerto Cortes, U. S. consular agency closed, 654
 - Treaties, agreements, etc.:
 - Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental, signed, 773
 - Military assistance agreement with U. S., 851, 1001
 - Wheat agreement, international, acceptance deposited, 851
 - U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 337
- Hong Kong:
 - U. S. emergency relief for fire victims, 87
 - U. S. export policy, 112, 157
- Hoover, Herbert, Jr., study of Anglo-Iranian oil dispute, 214, 280
- Hospital for Korea, German Red Cross, agreement, 270, 568
- Hotchkis, Preston:
 - Statements in U. N.:
 - Forced labor behind the Iron Curtain, 804
 - Freedom of information, 682
 - U. S. economic policy toward underdeveloped countries, 725
 - Tribute to, 849
 - U. S. representative, ECOSOC, confirmation, 337
- Housing, resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 636
- Howard, Harry N., articles on U. S. policy during 1953 in Near East, South Asia, and Africa, 274, 328, 365
- Hubbard Medal replica award in Everest conquest, 472

Hughes, William P., designations in State Department, 774, 966

Hull, Cordell, recommendations to control relief contributions (1941), 384

Hull, Gen. John E., efforts for release of nonrepatriated prisoners of war, Korea:
Exchange of correspondence with chairman, NNRC, 90, 113, 115, 153, 154
Statements, 90, 152

Human rights and fundamental freedoms:
Address (Lord), 372
Declaration of Caracas, 425, 634, 639
Message to Human Rights Commission (Eisenhower), 374, 397
Resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 636, 637
Statements at Caracas (Dulles), 422, 423, 425
Violation (*see also* Forced labor), persecution of Jews in Rumania, 914

Hungary:
Mindszenty imprisonment, 47, 273
Sugar agreement, international, deposit of accession, 525
U. S. plane incident (1951), U. S. application to International Court of Justice, 449, 450

Hvasta, John, release from Czech imprisonment:
Department statement, 251
Letter and reply (Hvasta, Dulles), 478
Message (Dulles), 273

Hydrogen-bomb tests in the Pacific. *See under* Atomic energy

Iceland:
Defense agreement with U. S., agreement on implementation of, 884
Fisheries dispute with U. K., address (Phleger), 200

Iguchi, Sadao:
Credentials as Japanese Ambassador to U. S., 465
Guest of honor, Japan Society meeting, 513, 514

I.L.O. *See* International Labor Organization

Immigration into Israel, address (Byroade) and Israeli protest, 711, 761

Immigration into U. S. (*see also* Refugees and displaced persons):
Administration of immigration and nationality laws, Federal regulations, 23
Netherlands, 714, 798
Refugee Relief Act, operation, address (Auerbach), 797
U. S. policy, address (Maney), 599

Imports (*see also* Trade):
Commercial samples and advertising material, international convention to facilitate importation, Indonesian accession deposited, 965
Europe, annual economic survey by ECE, 608
Japan. *See* Japan: Trade relations
U. K. Token Import Plan, extension, 123
U. S. (*see also* Tariff policy, U. S.):
Coffee, 257
Rye: Investigation, 22; proclamation establishing quota, 567
Scissors and shears, duty not to increase, 840
Tung oil and nuts, investigation of effect on price-support program, 839
Wool, statement (Eisenhower), 381, 393

Income tax:

Conventions for avoidance of double taxation. *See* Double taxation

Pakistan, exemptions for visiting businessmen, 158

India:

Air transport services agreement with U. S., termination, 525, 526

Atomic control, position, 687, 688, 689

Educational exchange with U. S., 596

General Assembly, U. N., attempt to reconvene 8th session, 256

Growth of freedom in, address (Allen), 864

International Bank loans, 368, 371, 396, 828

Kashmir problem. *See* Kashmir

Military Tribunal Far East, protest against exclusion from participation in decisions regarding persons sentenced by, 802

Pakistan, U. S. military aid, Indian objection to:

Addresses: Allen, 866; Jernegan, 446, 447, 448, 593, 594, 595

Letter explaining (Eisenhower to Nehru), 400, 447, 594

Prisoners of war, Korea, custody for repatriation. *See* Prisoners of War, Korea

Rihand Dam project, 597

Tariff concessions, GATT, request for renegotiation, 406

U. N. trust territories, position on, 717, 720

U. S., relations with, address (Jernegan), 593

U. S. private investment, 596, 731

U. S. technical and economic aid:

1941-53, 366, 367

Addresses: Jernegan, 596; Murphy, 433

Budget recommendations to Congress for 1955:

President's recommendations, 147, 401

Statements: Allen, 759; Dulles, 580, 923

FOA report, 485

Locust and malaria control, 597, 731

Railway system, 88

Rihand Dam project, 597

Steel agreement, 156, 369

Technical training centers, 597

Indochina, Associated States, progress toward independence, 359, 432, 539, 582, 742, 863, 924, 937, 972

Indochina, Communist aggression in (*see also* Geneva Conference: Indochina phase):

Cambodia, atrocity by Viet Minh:

Cambodian note and U. S. reply, 746

Statement (Smith), 783

Collective defense (*see also* Asia: Collective security):
Address and statements (Dulles), 540, 742, 782, 862, 948, 972

London and Paris conversations: Joint statements, U. S.-U. K. and U. S.-French, 622; statements (Dulles), 590, 623, 668, 743, 972

Dien-Bien-Phu:

Defenders of, tributes to: Dulles, 512, 582, 590, 668, 739, 742, 743; Eisenhower, 542; Lodge, 748; Smith, 590

Fall of, exchange of messages (Eisenhower-Coty and Eisenhower-Bao Dai), 745, 835

Wounded, evacuation, 783

Indochina, Communist aggression in—Continued

- Restoration of peace, attempts for. *See* Geneva Conference: Indochina phase
- United Nations, question of action by, 863, 936
- U. S. financial and material aid:
 - FOA report, 487
 - Statements: Dulles, 512, 582, 742, 744, 784, 924, 972; Nixon, 12; Smith, 360, 589
- U. S. policy:
 - Addresses, statements, etc.: Dulles, 43, 108, 363, 462, 463, 512, 539, 582, 742, 924, 937, 948, 972; Eisenhower, 702; Elbrick, 560; Jenkins, 626, 860; Murphy, 432; Smith, 359, 589
 - Letter of President Eisenhower to President Coty of France, 990
 - Messages of President to Congress, 76, 144, 147
 - U. S. forces, clarification of statement of Vice President Nixon, 623
- Indonesia:
 - Convention to facilitate importation of commercial samples and advertising material, accession deposited, 965
 - Member of International Monetary Fund and International Bank, 640, 803
 - U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298
 - U. S. technical aid, 432
- Information, freedom of, addresses and statements: Eisenhower, 699; Hotchkis, 682; Lodge, 849
- Information, U. S. Advisory Commission on, members, 482
- Information Agency, U. S., overseas program:
 - Addresses: Eisenhower, 701; Strelbert, 205; Woodward, 236
 - Exchange activities of State Department, coordination with, 499, 502, 572
 - Foreign Service personnel, functions regarding, 573
 - President's budget recommendations to Congress, 145, 146, 147, 148
 - Report to Congress, 414
- Inspection Service, Department of State, 774
- Inter-American Conference, 10th, at Caracas:
 - Agenda, 130
 - Declaration of Caracas, 425, 634, 639 (text)
 - Declaration of solidarity against international Communist intervention:
 - Addresses: Dreier, 834; Holland, 676
 - Amendments to proposed declaration, 423, 424, 425, 634
 - Pravda* editorial, 380
 - Statements (Dulles), 419, 423, 429, 466, 581, 873, 923, 938
 - Text, 420, 638
 - Economic problems of the Americas, addresses and statements: Dulles, 425, 426; Holland, 764, 765; Smith, 360; Waugh, 427
 - Inter-American unity, address (Dulles), 379
 - International communism (*see also* Declaration of solidarity, *supra*):
 - Definition and objectives (Dulles), 379, 419
 - Guatemalan position, 419, 420n, 429, 634, 834, 873, 938
 - Results, addresses, statements, etc.: Bowdler, 634; Dulles, 429; Holland, 676
 - Site of 11th Inter-American Conference named, 638
 - U. S. delegation, 383, 430

Inter-American cultural relations, convention for promotion of:

- Revision, 637, 677
- Signatories, 803
- Inter-American Defense Board, work of, 833
- Inter-American Economic and Social Council, recommendations of 10th Inter-American Conference, 636, 676
- Inter-American Juridical Committee, functioning and composition, 638
- Inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance (Rio Pact):
 - Addresses, statements, etc. (Dulles), 312, 379, 425, 460, 466, 874
 - Basis for collective security in the Americas, addresses: Dreier, 830; Wainhouse, 985
 - Pattern for NATO, address (Murphy), 785
 - Question of invocation in Guatemalan situation, statement (Dulles), 874
- Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, appointment of U. S. commissioner, 640
- Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration:
 - 6th session: Article (Warren), 26; U. S. delegation, 29
 - 7th session: Article (Warren), 994; U. S. delegation, 691
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development:
 - Functions, 382, 606, 728
 - Indonesia, member, 640, 803
 - Loans: Australia, 480; Brazil, 24; Ecuador, 326; El Salvador, 396, 828; Ethiopia, 371, 553, 731; French West Africa, 992; India, 368, 371, 396, 828; Iraq, 371, 553; Latin America, 237, 769; Norway, 640; Pakistan, 371, 991; Turkey, 286, 371, 407, 551, 553
 - Report as of Dec. 31, 1953, 296
 - Report for 9 months ended Mar. 31, 1954, 761
 - U. S. contributions to capital of, 370
- International Civil Aviation Organization (*see also* North Atlantic ocean stations), work of, 828
- International Claims Commission, U. S., 401, 811
- International Court of Justice:
 - Address (Phleger), 199, 200
 - Statute, parties to: Australia, 613; Japan, 733; San Marino, 613
 - U. N. awards case, advisory opinion requested on relationship between General Assembly and Administrative Tribunal, 34, 199, 482, 963
 - U. S. aircraft case against Hungary and Soviet Union (1951), U. S. application to Court, 449, 450 (text)
- International Joint Commission (U. S. and Canada):
 - Libby Dam, U. S. application for construction, 878
 - Niagara Falls remedial project, 954
- International Labor Conference, 37th session, U. S. delegation, 929
- International Labor Conference, Governing Body:
 - Soviet membership denied, 980
 - U. S. representative to meeting, 850
- International Labor Organization:
 - Equal pay for men and women, report on, 647, 648, 649
 - Forced labor report, U. N. *See* Forced labor
 - Salaried Employees and Professional Workers, U. S. delegation to 3d session, 772
 - Soviet reversal of policy toward, 828, 829, 980
- International law:
 - Possibility of U. N. Charter revisions, statement (Dulles), 172
 - Recent developments in, address (Phleger), 196

International Law Commission, address (Phleger), 199
 International Materials Conference, termination, 60
 International military headquarters, protocol on status of, status and actions on, 694, 1001
 International Monetary Fund, Indonesian membership, 640, 803
 International organizations and conferences (*see also subject*), calendar of meetings, 25, 166, 334, 527, 680, 885
 International Organizations Immunities Act, extension of benefits to OAS, 951
 International Telecommunication Union, address (Black), 83
 International unity, address (Dulles), 935
 Investment of private capital abroad:
 Advantages, 486, 727
 ECOSOC resolution recommending measures to attract, 730n, 827, 849
 European Coal and Steel Community, future needs, 671
 Impediments to, 728, 789
 Latin America, addresses and statements: Bohan, 877; Bowdler, 635; Cabot, 50, 356, 357; Dulles, 382, 427; Gardner, 159; Holland, 767, 768, 769, 770; Hotchkis, 728, 731; Smith, 360; Waugh, 428, 429; Woodward, 235, 237
 Middle East, impediments, 789
 Role of government, address (Holland), 766
 Spain, address (Dunn), 478
 Turkey, new legislation, 285n, 486, 551
 U. S. encouragement, statement (Hotchkis), 729
 U. S. investment:
 Canada, 51, 121, 381
 Earnings (1952), 120
 India, 596
 Latin America, 121, 159, 235, 360, 382, 728, 731, 769, 877
 Liberia, 728
 Soviet false charges, 730
 Spain, 478
 Tax incentives. *See* Tax incentives
 Venezuela, 728
 Investments:
 Berlin, need for investment aid, 585
 Japan, guaranty of investments, agreement with U. S., 518, 519, 524 (text), 570, 613, 773
 Korea, agreement for financing the investment program, 66
 Iran:
 Anglo-Iranian oil dispute:
 Developments in 1953, article (Howard), 279
 U. S. efforts to settle, 214
 Export-Import Bank loan, 370
 German external debts, agreement on, ratification deposited, 693
 Oil negotiations with private companies, 583
 U. S. economic, technical, and military aid, 147, 280, 366, 367, 432, 433, 488, 551, 552, 553, 582
 Iraq:
 International Bank loan, 371, 553
 U. S. economic and technical aid, 367, 551, 962
 U. S. military assistance, agreement for, 772

Ireland:

Consular convention and supplementary protocol with U. S., exchange of ratifications and entry into force, 802, 852

German external debts, agreement on, ratification deposited, 693

Islamic Culture, Colloquium on, 211, 504

Isle of Man, application of universal postal convention to, 693

Israel:

Ambush of Israeli bus in Negev, 554

Arab refugee problem, position on (*see also* Arab refugees and Jordan River), 95, 96, 100, 630

Arab States, dispute with. *See* Palestine question

Export-Import Bank loan, 370, 553

Immigration, 711, 761

Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River

Shipping restrictions, Egyptian, complaint regarding, 569

Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with U. S., exchange of ratifications and entry into force, 442, 803

U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 694

U. S. economic and technical aid, 147, 212, 330, 367, 368, 551, 552, 713

U. S. policy during 1953, addresses: Howard, 275, 328; Sanger, 210, 211, 212, 214

Italy:

Atomic energy exhibition, 982

Migration to U. S. under Refugee Relief Act, address (Auerbach), 797

Monetary gold case, 199

Trieste, British-U. S. Zone, report on administration of, 124

U. S. economic aid, 82, 714; continuance under Battle Act, 491

Japan:

Ambassador to U. S.:

 Credentials, 465

 Guest of honor, Japan Society meeting, 513, 514

Atomic disease, expert on, visit to U. S., 791

Atomic fall-out from Marshall Islands detonation, harmlessness, 549, 598

Atomic injuries to seamen, U. S. investigation, 466, 598

Communist objective, addresses (Murphy), 430, 431, 515
 Economic aid during occupation, negotiations for settlement, 770

Export-Import Bank credit, 57

Fisheries Commission, International North Pacific, meeting, 165, 297, 327, 515

Fisheries disputes with Australia and Korea, address (Phleger), 200

International Court of Justice, party to Statute, 733

Prime Minister, visit to U. S., postponed, 918

Progress and prospects, address (Murphy), 513

Rearmament, address (Robertson), 231

Ryukyu Islands (Amami-Oshima group), U. S. relinquishment of treaty rights, 17, 515

Japan—Continued

Trade relations and economy:

Addresses: Dulles, 971; Eisenhower, 603, 703; Murphy, 431, 516, 517; Robertson, 232; Waring, 293
Commercial relations pending accession to GATT, 154, 233, 514

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Agricultural commodities. *See* Agricultural surpluses
Claims arising from presence of U. S. and U. N. forces in Japan, protocol, signed, 613

Commercial treaty with U. S., 514

Double taxation convention with U. S., income and estate, signed, 692, 733

Economic arrangements agreement with U. S. and agreed official minutes, 518, 519, 524 (text), 613, 773; question of Senate action, 570

Investments, guaranty of, agreement with U. S., 518, 519, 524 (text), 613, 773; question of Senate action, 570

Mutual defense assistance agreement with U. S. *See* under Mutual defense treaties

Peace treaty:

Chile, ratification deposited, 852

Persons sentenced by International Military Tribunal Far East, Indian protest against exclusion from participation in decisions regarding, 802

Protocol, status of actions by country, 568

Settlement of disputes arising under art. 15(a), agreement for: Chile, entry into force, 852; status of actions by country, 568

Status of actions by country, 568

Reduction of Japanese contributions under art. XXV of administrative agreement of Feb. 28, 1952, 693

Return of equipment, arrangements with U. S., 518, 522 (text), 613; question of Senate action, 570

Status of U. N. forces in Japan, agreement regarding, and protocol for provisional implementation of agreement, signed, 613

Technical missions to U. S., agreement, 568

U. S. and U. N. forces in Japan, criminal jurisdiction, protocol, 514

U. S. naval vessels, agreement for loan to, 929, 965

Tuna industry, unharmed by radioactivity, 598

United Nations, question of admission, 514

U. S.-Japanese friendship, address (Robertson), 547

U. S. policy in, addresses: Murphy, 430; Robertson, 229

Jefferson, Thomas, address (Robertson), 149, 150, 152

Jenkins, Alfred le Sesne, U. S. China policy, addresses, 624, 859

Jernegan, John D., addresses:

India, U. S. relations with, 593

Middle East and South Asia, problem of security, 444

Jerusalem:

Internationalization, 96, 630, 631

Israeli Foreign Office, transfer to, 212, 328, 631

Jews, persecution in Rumania, statement (Murphy), 914

Johnson, U. Alexis:

Peiping discussions for release of U. S. citizens in Communist China, 950

U. S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, 298

Johnston, Eric, mission to Near East to discuss Jordan Valley project (*see also* Jordan River):

Appointment, 98, 211

Article (Howard), 368

Proposals, analysis, 282, 789

Resumption of negotiations, 913

Jordan (*see also* Palestine question):

Ambassador to U. S., credentials, 24

Arab refugee problem (*see also* Jordan River), 96, 97, 98, 552, 553

Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River

Legation in U. S. raised to Embassy, 24

U. S. economic and technical aid:

Grant economic assistance agreement, 1000, 1001

Water development, 433, 551

Wheat shipments, agreement for, 55 (text), 367, 489, 552

Jordan River:

Diversion by Israeli, Syrian complaint in U. N.:

Security Council draft resolution, 59 (text), 297a

Statements by U. S. representatives in U. N., 58, 297

Project for development of valley:

Addresses and articles: Dorsey, 552, 553; Howard, 329, 330, 332, 368; Sanger, 211, 212

Analysis (Johnston), 282, 789

Refugee Survey Commission report (Dec. 1953), 98

Resumption of negotiations, 913

Juliana, Queen of the Netherlands, gratitude for U. S. aid during floods, 142

Juridical Committee, Inter-American, functioning and composition, 638

Jurists, Inter-American Council of, address (Phleger), 197

Kalijarvi, Thorsten V., statements:

Copyright protection, 530

Sugar agreement, international, 493

Kashmir, Indian charge of Pakistan aggression:

Address (Jernegan), 446

Direct negotiations, article (Howard), 333

U. N. observation of disturbances, 979

Kelly, H. H., article on international motor traffic agreements, 117

Key, David McK.:

Addresses:

Advancing U. S. economic policies through the U. N. 826

Peaceful change through the U. N., 394

Confirmation as Assistant Secretary of State, 483

Khokhlov, Nikolai, assassination mission, 671, 715

Kirk, Admiral Alan G., on Special Committee for the Balkans, 978

Kirkpatrick, Evron M., designation in State Department, 814

Kootenai River, U. S. application for construction of dam on, 878

Korea:

Armistice agreement:

Communist allegations against U. N. Command, refutation by Swiss and Swedish members of NNSC: Address (Key), 977

Memorandum of Swedish and Swiss members, 944

Statement (Smith), 941

Korea—Continued

Armistice agreement—Continued

Communist violations, 545, 546, 652, 860, 941; letter (Lacey to NNSC), 689

Negotiations, signing, and implementation, U. N. Command reports, 30, 31, 32, 61, 92, 652

Prisoners of war, provisions regarding. *See* Prisoners of war

Statement (Dulles), 705

Communist aggression, addresses, etc.: Dulles, 181, 182, 704; Jenkins, 860; Lodge, 723, 724; Martin, 545; Murphy, 515; Smith, 915

Fisheries dispute with Japan, address (Phleger), 200

Free elections, efforts for. *See* Geneva Conference

Geneva political conference. *See* Geneva Conference

German warfare charges by Communists against U. S., 976, 986

Political conference (*see also* Geneva Conference):

Chinese Communist obstructions, 181, 182, 404

Panmunjom negotiations for, addresses: Dean, 15; Martin, 546; McConaughy, 404; Nixon, 12

Prisoners of war, unrepatriated, question of consideration at, 113

Prisoners of war. *See* Prisoners of war, Korea

Relief and rehabilitation, U. S. aid:

Agreement on strengthening Korean economy, 65

Appropriations for 1955: Message to Congress (Eisenhower), 147; statements (Dulles), 581, 924

FOA authorization, 993

FOA report, 488

Visit of U. S. Governors to observe, 273, 836

Voluntary aid, 388, 389

Results of war in, address (Robertson), 149

Sixteen-nation declaration at Geneva, 973

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Economic reconstruction and financial stabilization, agreement with U. S., 65

Mutual defense treaty with U. S., transmittal to Senate with report and statement (Dulles), 131; Senate approval, 208

U. N. Command, Communist allegations of Armistice violation, refutation by Swedish and Swiss members of NNSC, 941, 944

U. N. Command operations, reports:

70th-73d (May 16-July 15, 1953), 30

74th (July 16-31, 1953), 61

75th (Aug. 1-15, 1953), 92

76th (Aug. 16-31, 1953), 652

U. N. observation group in, 979

U. N. operations in, contributions to, 31, 255, 452, 723, 724, 936; Ethiopian, 869, 870; German hospital, 270, 568; Turkish, 248; U. S., 255, 452

U. S. policy, addresses, etc., on: Dulles, 107, 108, 462; Eisenhower, 76; Morton, 291, 363; Robertson, 149; Smith, 350, 915

U. S. troops:

Reduction, addresses and statements: Dulles, 42, 462; Eisenhower, 14; Morton, 291; Smith, 264, 359

Withdrawal prior to 1950, analogy to German situation, 315

Unity and independence, Korean people's right to, address (Smith), 915

Korea, People's Democratic Republic of (North Korea):

Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347

U. S. export policy, 111, 112, 194, 563, 845

Kyrou, Alexis, statement in U. N. on repatriation of Greek children, 276

Labor:

Able seamen, convention on certification of, U. S. ratification, 693

Forced labor. *See* Forced labor

Labor-management relations, address (Gardner), 159

Migrant labor agreement, U. S. and Mexico. *See under* Mexico

Resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 636

Labor Conference, International. *See* International Labor Conference

Labor Organization, International. *See* International Labor Organization

Lacey, Maj. Gen. Julius K.:

Letter on Korean Armistice agreement violations, 689

Statement on transfer of custody of prisoners of war in Korea, 295

Laos:

Communist aggression. *See* Indochina

Independence, progress toward, 359, 432, 539, 582, 742, 784, 863, 924, 948, 972

Latin America (*see also* individual countries):

Air travel to, 234

Anti-U. S. propaganda in, 506

Archeology, exhibition of, 677

Colonialism, resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 634

Communism, threat of (*see also* Inter-American Conference), addresses: Cabot, 51; Dulles, 379; Woodward, 235, 237

Economic problems, addresses: Bohan, 875; Dulles, 380

Economic relations with U. S., addresses and statements: Cabot, 48, 356; Dulles, 425, 426; Holland, 764, 953; Waugh, 427; Woodward, 237

Educational exchange program, 506

FOA directors' meeting, 121

Foreign Relations volume on American republics, released, 965

Inter-American Conference, 10th. *See* Inter-American Conference

Investment of private capital in. *See under* Investment of private capital

Maritime development, 875, 876

Nonintervention policy of U. S., development, 356, 831, 832

OAS. *See* Organization of American States.

Pan American Day:

Addresses (Holland), 675, 677

Proclamation, 564

Pan American Railway Congress, VIII, accomplishments, 167

Pan American Railway Congress Association, member, U. S. national commission, 963

Pan American Sanitary Organization:

Health program, 238

U. S. delegation to 22d session of Executive Committee, 692

Latin America—Continued

- Pan American Union, relationship to OAS, 951
- Private enterprise in, address (Woodward), 234
- Relations with U. S., addresses: Cabot, 356; Murphy, 785
- Security in the Americas, organization of, address (Dreier), 830
- Spirit of Inter-American unity, address (Dulles), 381
- Technical aid, U. N., 237, 238
- Technical aid, U. S. *See* Mutual security and assistance programs
- U. S. voluntary relief, article (Ringland), 383
- Latvia, Republic of:
 - Chargé in U. S., letters of appointment, 882
 - Soviet absorption, addresses and statements: Dulles, 267, 269; Merchant, 819, 820; Smith, 942
- Lawson, Edward B., confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Israel, 694
- Lay, S. Houston, member, Patent Appeal Board, Germany, 913
- Lebanon (*see also* Palestine question):
 - Arab refugee problem, 96, 97
 - Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River
 - U. S. economic and technical aid, 553, 1001
- Legislation, foreign policy, listed, 102, 337, 483, 534, 571, 633, 694, 810, 825, 842, 925, 953, 999, 1000
- Lend-lease, reciprocal aid, surplus property, and claims, agreement with Belgium amending memorandum of understanding regarding settlement for, 773
- Lend-lease vessels, U. S. efforts for return by Soviet Union:
 - Agreement for return of 38 craft, 563, 613
 - Exchange of notes and aides-mémoires (1953), 44
- Le Sage, Jean, address, Niagara Falls Remedial Project, 956
- Leverich, Henry P., designation in State Department, 1004
- Libby Dam, U. S. application for construction, 878
- Liberia:
 - Export-Import Bank loan, 370, 731
 - Geneva conventions on prisoners of war, etc. (1949), adherence deposited, 773
 - Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental, convention, signature, 773
 - President, visit to U. S., 795
 - U. S. economic aid, 369, 551
 - U. S. private investment, 728, 731
- Libya, U. S. wheat shipments, 489
- Liechtenstein, agreement on German external debts, ratification deposited, 693
- Lithuania:
 - Independence, 36th anniversary, 320
 - Soviet absorption, addresses and statements: Dulles, 267, 269; Merchant, 819, 820; Smith, 942
- Lleras Camargo, Alberto:
 - Resignation as Secretary General of OAS, 637, 675
 - Statement on Pan American harmony, 785
- Load line convention:
 - Application to Federation of Malaya, 929
 - Notification of accession of Nicaragua, 929
- Loans, U. N. *See* International Bank

Loans, U. S. (*see also* Export-Import Bank):

- European Coal and Steel Community:
 - Negotiations and communique, 327, 562, 622, 671 (text)
 - Remarks at signing of agreement (Smith, Monnet, Potthoff, Giaccherio), 672
- Near East (1953), 553
- Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 190
- Lockhart, Sir Robert Bruce, quoted, 263
- Locust control, India, 597
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr.:
 - Addresses, statements, etc.:
 - Atomic energy, 687
 - Atomic tests in Pacific trust territory, 886
 - Charter review, 451, 644
 - Economic and Social Council, work of 17th session, 849
 - EDC, importance to free world, 747
 - Israel-Jordan dispute, 651
 - Israeli complaint against Egyptian shipping restrictions, 569
 - Jordan Valley project, 58
 - Moroccan and Tunisian situations, 332, 333
 - Prisoners of war, Korea, unrepatriated, release, 153
 - Technical assistance program, U. N., U. S. support, 369, 370, 849
 - Thai request for peace observation mission, 974
 - United Nations, meaning to U. S., 252
 - United Nations, record of accomplishment, 721
 - Member, U. S. delegation, 10th Inter-American Conference, 383, 430
 - President's personal representative, anniversary of Normandy landing, 959n
- "Long haul" concept of foreign policy, 3, 109, 263, 363, 462, 559, 580, 922
- Lord, Mrs. Oswald B.:
 - Address on right to freedom and self-determination, 372
 - U. S. representative, Human Rights Commission, confirmation, 337
- Lourie, Donald B., resignation from State Department, 374
- Luce, Mrs. Clare Booth, remarks at atomic energy exhibition in Rome, 982
- Luxembourg:
 - EDC treaty, ratification, 621
 - Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
 - Off-shore procurement program, agreement with U. S. signed, 803
 - U. S. Minister, confirmation, 298
- Macao, U. S. export controls, 157
- Malaria control, India, 598
- Malaya, Federation of:
 - High Commissioner, inauguration, 914
 - Load line convention, application to, 929
 - Progress against communism, statement (Dulles), 914
- Malenkov, Georgi M., address on Turkish-Soviet relations, 278
- Malik, Charles, statements in Security Council on Palestine question, 331, 332
- Maney, Edward S., address on U. S. immigration policy, 599
- Manila conference of FOA directors, 333

Mansure, Edmund F., announcement of expansion of nickel plant in Cuba, 122

Mao Tse-tung, policies on China mainland, 544, 545, 624, 625, 626, 807, 861

Map projections, article (Boggs), 903

Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental, convention on, current actions, 773

Maritime policies (*see also* Ships and shipping), address (Bohan), 875

Marshall Islands, nuclear tests in. *See* Atomic energy: Hydrogen-bomb tests

Marshall Plan, 189, 436, 557

Martin, Edwin W., address on U. S. China policy, 543

Masaryk, Jan, statement (Dulles), 421

Mass-destruction weapons. *See* Atomic energy

Massey, Vincent, address before joint session of U. S. Congress, 762

Materials Conference, International, termination, 60

Mates, Leo, credentials as Yugoslav Ambassador to U. S., 624

Matthews, H. Freeman:
Address on Foundations of American Attitudes, 434
U. S. Ambassador to Netherlands, confirmation, 298

Mayo, Dr. Charles W., disapproval of Communist germ warfare charges against U. S., 976

Mazatlán, Mexico, U. S. consulate to be closed, 852

McConaughy, Walter P., addresses:
Berlin Foreign Ministers' Meeting, significance, 402
China, communism in, 39

McConnell, Raymond A., member, U. S.-Mexican Migratory Labor Commission, 565

McGillivray, Sir Donald, inauguration as High Commissioner, Malaya, 914

McIntosh, Dempster, confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Uruguay, 298

McKisson, Robert M., designation in State Department, 1004

McLeod, Scott:
Administrator, Refugee Relief Act, duties as, 714, 798, 799, 800
Inspection operations, administration of, 413, 774
Security program in the State Department, address, 469

McNaughton, Gen. A. G. L., address, Niagara Falls Remedial Project, 958

McWhorter, Roger B., address, Niagara Falls Remedial Project, 957

Menderes, Adnan, visit to U. S., 879, 912

Merchandise, convention on uniformity of nomenclature for classification of, U. S. withdrawal, 929

Merchant, Livingston T., address on Soviet power system, 819

Merchant marine:
President's message to Congress, 605
Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 194, 324

Meteorological information. *See* North Atlantic ocean stations

Meteorological Organization. *See* World Meteorological Organization

Mexico:
Broadcasting problems, discussions with U. S., 678

Mexico—Continued

Inter-American Conference, 10th, position on declaration against international communism, 420n, 424, 425, 634

Migrant labor agreement with U. S.:
Extension, 53
Renewal, 467, 613
Soviet charges concerning U. S. treatment of "wet-backs," 809
Statement (Eisenhower), 468

Migratory Labor Commission, Joint U. S.-Mexican, membership, U. S. section, 565
U. S. consular offices, reorganization, 852
U. S. private investment in, 731

Middle East. *See* Near and Middle East

Migrant labor agreement, U. S. and Mexico. *See under* Mexico

Migrants. *See* Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and Refugees and displaced persons

Migratory Labor Commission, Joint U. S.-Mexican, membership, U. S. section, 565

Military Assistance Advisory Group, Japan, 518, 523

Military assistance agreements (*see also* Mutual defense treaties), with—
American republics, 833
Honduras, 851, 1001
Iraq, 772
Nicaragua, 639, 692, 773

Military assistance program. *See* Mutual defense and Mutual security and assistance programs

Military aviation mission, agreement with El Salvador, extension, 693

Military headquarters, international, protocol on status of, status and actions on, 694, 1001

Military program, U. S.:
Administration planning, 79, 107, 108
Current program, article (Dulles), 463
Effect on foreign trade, address (Hensel), 919
President's message to Congress, 77

Military talks on Southeast Asian collective defense, proposed 5-power, statement (Dulles), 864

Military Tribunal Far East, U. S. position on Indian protest against exclusion from participation in decisions regarding persons sentenced by, 802

Mindszenty, Cardinal Joseph, 5th anniversary of imprisonment:
Letter (Eisenhower) to Catholic organization, 273
Message (Dulles) to Rev. John Gaspar, 47

Minorities, U. N. subcommission on protection of, designation of U. S. alternate member, 59

Mixed Armistice Commission, Israeli-Syrian, 329, 330, 331

Mixed Electoral Commission, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 213, 281, 281n

Mohn, Paul, memorandum as Swedish member, NNSC, Korea, 941, 944

Molotov, Vyacheslav M.:
Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Berlin:
Attacks on EDC, 362, 822
Obstructionist maneuvers, statements (Dulles), 179, 222
Proposals. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting

Molotov, Vyacheslav M.—Continued
 Geneva Conference, charges against U. S., statement (Smith), 942
 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (1939), 819, 943
 Monetary Fund, International, Indonesian membership, 640, 803
 Monnet, Jean, remarks upon U. S. loan to European Coal and Steel Community, 672
Monroe Doctrine:
 Application in declaration against international Communist intervention in American States, addresses and statements: Dreier, 830, 834; Dulles, 422, 429, 466, 938
 Roosevelt corollary, abandonment, 831
 Montreux Convention, 278, 278n
 Moroccan situation: Address (Sanger), 213; article (Howard), 332
 Morocco, Spanish Zone, application of World Meteorological Organization convention to, 733
 Morrill, J. L., report as chairman of U. S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, 572
 Morton, Dr. John, investigation of atomic injury to Japanese seamen, 598
 Morton, Thruston B.:
 Building a Secure Community, address, 289
 Coffee-price increase, reply to Representative Sullivan, 256
 Designation as Acting Deputy Under Secretary of State, 413; relinquishment of duties, 1002
 Genocide convention, summary of action on, 882
 Mutual defense assistance agreement with Japan, reply to inquiry on need for Senate action, 570
 U. S. foreign policy, address, 361
 World Health Organization, letter to Senator Wiley on 1955 budget and U. S. assessment, 964
 Mossadegh, Mohammed, correspondence with President Eisenhower on Anglo-Iranian oil dispute, article (Howard), 279, 280
 Motor traffic agreements, international, article (Kelly, Elliot), 117
 Mt. Everest, Hubbard Medal replica award to Tenzing Norkey, 472
 Murphy, Robert D.:
 Addresses and statements:
 Building strength in today's world power situation, 988
 Japan, progress and prospects, 513
 Japan and the Pacific, U. S. policy in, 430
 Pakistani offer to aid in U. S. Chancery construction, 760
 Rumania, persecution of Jews in, 914
 Western unity, 473
 World brotherhood, 287, 785
 Correspondence:
 Cambodia, U. S. note condemning Viet Minh atrocity, 746
 Murray, Johnston, visit to Korea, 836
 Mutual defense (*see also* Collective security; European Defense Community; and North Atlantic Treaty Organization):
 Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act, 491, 843
 North America, mutual defense measures in, 4, 639
 President's budget message to Congress, 143
 Treaties. *See* Mutual defense treaties

Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act:
 Continuance of aid to Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, and U. K., 491
 FOA report to Congress on operation (July-Dec. 1953), 843
 Mutual defense treaties (*see also* Military assistance agreements), with—
 Iceland, implementation of agreement, 884
 Japan, mutual defense assistance agreement:
 Address (Murphy), 515
 Comparison with Korean treaty, 132
 Joint communique and statement by U. S. Ambassador, 518
 Question of Senate action, 570
 Statements (Dulles) on 1955 appropriations, 581, 924
 Text, 520
 Korea, mutual defense treaty:
 Senate, transmittal to, with report and statement by Secretary Dulles, 131
 Senate approval, 208
 Pakistan, mutual defense assistance agreement, signature and entry into force, 850, 929
 Philippines, mutual defense treaty:
 Comparison with Korean treaty, 132, 133
 Council to handle matters arising under treaty, establishment, 973
 Mutual Security Act (1951), functions authorized by, Executive order exempting, 481
 Mutual Security Act (1953), Richards amendment, 5n
 Mutual security and assistance programs (*see also* Mutual defense):
 Addresses, statements, etc.: Dorsey, 551; Dulles, 107, 210, 275, 381, 579, 581, 921, 923; Holland, 769; Howard, 365; Murphy, 432, 989; Robertson, 350, 351; Sanger, 210; Smith, 263, 264; Stassen, 871; Wainhouse, 984; Woodward, 237
 Agreements for (*see also* Mutual defense treaties), 551
 Budget recommendations and appropriations:
 Administration plans, 79
 Fiscal years 1941 to 1954, 210, 366, 551
 Fiscal year 1955: Messages to Congress (Eisenhower), 76, 143, 366n, 606; statements before Congress (Dulles), 579, 921
 Economic and technical aid to foreign countries (*see also* Agricultural surpluses and Export-Import Bank):
 Afghanistan, 433, 566, 613; Africa, 147, 369, 552; Arab states, 147, 551, 552; Asia, 147, 350, 351, 368, 369, 580; Austria, 250, 488; Bolivia, 468, 485, 488, 489, 567; Borneo, 433; Caribbean area, 653; Egypt, 367, 551; Ethiopia, 369, 551, 869; France, 272, 641; Germany, East, food parcels, 489; Greece, 366, 367, 439, 440, 674; India (*see under* India); Indonesia, 432; Iran, 147, 280, 366, 367, 432, 433, 488, 551, 552, 553, 582; Iraq, 367, 551, 962; Israel, 147, 212, 330, 367, 368, 551, 552, 713; Italy, 82, 714; Jordan (*see under* Jordan); Korea, Republic of (*see also* Korea: Relief and rehabilitation), 488, 933; Latin America, 121, 147, 237, 381, 580, 581, 769, 923; Lebanon, 553, 1001; Liberia, 369, 551; Libya, 489; Near and Middle East, 210, 275, 365, 432, 550; Netherlands, 674; Netherlands Antilles, 733; Pakistan, 147, 366, 369, 433, 489; Philippines, 147; Saudi Arabia, 367, 433; Spain, 476, 488,

Mutual security and assistance programs—Continued

Economic and technical aid to foreign countries—Con.
641, 960; Surinam, 733; Thailand, 373; Turkey, 247,
279, 366, 367, 553, 714, 912; Yugoslavia, 714.

Foreign Economic Policy Commission recommendations
(*see also* Foreign Economic Policy Commission), 190,
606

FOA regional meetings, 121, 333

FOA report (June 30–Dec. 31, 1953), 484

Military aid to foreign countries (*see also* Mutual de-
fense treaties): Asia, 349, 432; Ethiopia, 369; Greece,
366, 439, 440; Honduras, 851, 1001; Iran, 366; Iraq,
772; Indochina (*see* Indochina: U. S. financial and
material aid); Latin America, 833; Nicaragua, 630,
692, 773; Pakistan (*see under* Pakistan); Spain, 476,
488, 960; Turkey, 247, 366, 550, 580, 912, 992.

Reduction of economic aid and continuance of technical
aid, 4, 109, 146, 190, 220, 250, 363, 463, 488, 490, 606,
844, 923

Voluntary agencies, cooperation of, 389, 674

NAC. *See* North Atlantic Council

Narcotics:

Narcotic drugs convention, protocol, extension to Somal-
iland, 693

Opium protocol (1953), ratifications deposited, Canada
and Panama, 851, 884

National Geographic Society, Hubbard Medal replica
award to Tenzing Norkey, 472

National Maritime Day, observance, 875

Nationalism (*see also* Colonialism), U. S. role, 632

NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Naval vessels, U. S. *See* Ships and shipping

Near and Middle East (*see also individual countries*):

Arab-Israeli dispute. *See* Palestine question

Collective security in:

Address (Jernegan), 444

Middle East Defense Organization, future possibility
of, views (Dulles), 214, 275, 327, 365, 441, 445, 594

Pakistan, U. S. military aid. *See* Pakistan

Pakistan-Turkey collaboration for security. *See*
Pakistan

Statements (Dulles), 581, 923

Educational exchange program in Near East and Africa,
504

Export-Import and International Bank loans, 370, 371

Foreign Relations volumes on Near East and Africa, re-
leased, 328, 966

Johnston mission to, 211, 282, 368, 788

Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River

U. S. economic, military, and technical aid, 210, 275,
366, 367, 432, 550

U. S. policy, addresses, statements, etc.: Byroade, 628,
708; Dorsey, 550; Dulles, 209, 210, 212, 214, 274, 275,
327; Howard, 274, 328, 365; Johnston, 788; Murphy,
432; Sanger, 209

U. S. voluntary relief, article (Ringland), 383

Near East Special Refugee Survey Commission, interim
report, 95, 210

Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, position on U. S. military aid
to Pakistan, 446, 448, 594

Netherlands:

Floods, acknowledgment of U. S. aid, 142

Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347

Gift to U. S. of carillon, 755

Migration to U. S. under Refugee Relief Act, 714, 797,
798

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

EDC treaty, legislative action, 142

Income tax convention with U. S., request for exten-
sion to Antilles, 851

Postal convention, universal, ratification deposited,
965

Technical cooperation agreement with U. S. for Suri-
nam and Antilles, 733

U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298

U. S. economic aid, 674

Netherlands Gulana. *See* Surinam

Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, exchange of
prisoners of war, Korea. *See* Prisoners of war

Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, Korea:

Armistice agreement violations by Communists, letter
(Lacey), 689

Refutation by Swedish and Swiss members of Com-
munist charges against U. N. Command, 941, 944, 977

New Zealand:

Export-Import Bank loan, 326

Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347

Military talks with U. S., 948

Mutual defense treaty with U. S., comparison with
Korean treaty, 132, 133

Niagara Falls Remedial Project, addresses at inaugura-
tion ceremony, 954

Nicaragua:

Load line convention, accession, 929

Military assistance agreement with U. S., signed, 692,
773

Safety of life at sea convention, accession deposited, 929
U. S. military aid, 639

Nichols, Clarence W., article on international tin agree-
ment, 239

Nickel production, in Cuba, expansion, 122

Nigeria, self-rule, 298, 336, 717, 718

Nixon, Richard M.:

U. S. Indochina policy, clarification of statement, 623

Visit to Asia and Middle East, 213, 371:

Address, 10

Soviet propaganda, 351

NNRC. *See* Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission

NNSC. *See* Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission

Nolan, Charles P., statement on proposed U. S. sale of
ships for Brazilian coastal shipping, 951

Norkey, Tenzing, awards for Everest conquest, 472

Normandy, France, anniversary of Allied landing, 959

North America, defense of, 4, 639

North Atlantic Council:

Ministerial meetings:

Dec. 1953: Communique, 8; statements (Dulles), 109,
462

April 1954: Communique, 670; statements (Dulles),
109, 462, 668

Resolution on political consultation, 670, 670a

North Atlantic ocean stations:

Agreement signed, 406, 795

Article (Lister), 792

Conference, 4th, 23, 406, 792

Signatories to agreement, listed, 653

Sweden, acceptance of agreement deposited, 884

North Atlantic Treaty, agreements and protocols. *See under* North Atlantic Treaty Organization

North Atlantic Treaty Organization:

Addresses, statements, etc.: Byroade, 440, 441; Dulles, 3, 109, 268, 460, 462, 561, 937; Eisenhower, 561; Elbrick, 557, 558; Matthews, 437; Morton, 291, 292, 293; Wainhouse, 983, 985

Agreements and protocols:

EDC. *See* European Defense Community treaty

Status of forces agreement: Address (Phleger), 198; status and actions on, 693, 1001

Status of international military headquarters, status and actions on, 694, 1001

Status of NATO, national representatives and international staff, status list, 1001

Atomic weapons, U. S. proposal for sharing information on, 8, 77, 144

Bases, military, 557, 558, 561, 579, 592

EDC. *See* European Defense Community

Fifth anniversary, 561

FOA report, 487

Greek membership, 277, 440, 441

Military program, President's message to Congress, 143, 144

North Atlantic Council. *See* North Atlantic Council Report on (Dulles), 3

Soviet efforts to join, 562, 756

Soviet verbal attacks on, 226, 268, 312, 313, 344, 358, 362, 759

Turkish membership and support, 248, 249, 277, 279, 285, 440, 912

U. S. appropriations for 1955, statements (Dulles), 579, 921

North Pacific Fisheries Commission, International, 165, 297, 327, 515

Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, International Commission for, appointment of U. S. commissioner, 640

Norway:

Cultural exhibition in U. S. address (Robertson), 202

International Bank loan, 640

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Aircraft, convention on international rights in, ratification deposited, 613

Conflicting claims to enemy property, agreement with U. S., entry into force, 772, 1001

GATT, declaration on the continued application of schedules to, ratification deposited, 803

German external debts, ratification deposited, 693

Telecommunication convention, international, ratification deposited, 1001

U. S. aid:

Continuance under Battle Act provisions, 491

Surplus farm commodities for, 714

Nuclear weapons. *See* Atomic energy

OAS. *See* Organization of American States

Oats, limitation on shipments to U. S.:

Canadian, 21, 56

Sources other than Canada, text of proclamation, 56

Occupation forces. *See* Armed forces

Ocean stations program. *See* North Atlantic ocean stations

Off-shore procurement:

Agreement with Luxembourg, 803

Program with France, 641

Program with Spain, 961

Oil:

Anglo-Iranian dispute, 214, 279

Iranian negotiations with private companies, 583

Turkish resources, 286

Opium protocol (1953), ratifications deposited, Panama and Canada, 851, 884

Organization of American States:

Benefits extended to through Executive order, 951

Collective security system, address (Dreier), 830

Communist intervention in Guatemala, possible action on, 939, 981, 982

Council functions, resolution of 10th Inter-American Conference, 638, 676

Formation and relationship to Pan American Union, 951

Pan American Day address before (Holland), 675

Peaceful settlement procedures, 983

Secretary General, resignation of Dr. Lleras Camargo, 637, 675

Technical assistance program, 237, 238, 636

Pace, Mrs. Pearl Carter, member, War Claims Commission, 24

Pacific area (*see also* Asia and individual countries):

Collective security (*see also* Mutual defense), 515, 516, 782, 971, 985

U. S. policy in, address (Murphy), 430

Pacific Fisheries Commission, North, 165, 297, 327, 515

Pacific Salmon Fisheries, International, appointment of U. S. member, 640

Pacific trust territory:

U. S. administration, 930, 978

U. S. atomic tests in Pacific, Marshallese complaint to U. N., 886, 887

Pakistan:

Export-Import Bank loan, 370

Income-tax exemption for visiting businessmen, 158

India, relations with:

Address (Jernegan), 446

Kashmir problem, 333, 979

International Bank loans, 371, 991

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

Copyright convention, universal, accession deposited, 1001

GATT, third protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, signed, 1001

German external debts, ratification deposited, 693

Mutual defense assistance agreement with U. S., signed and entry into force, 850, 929

Turkey, joint communique on security, 327, 333n, 400, 401:

Addresses and statements: Byroade, 441, 442; Dulles, 581, 923; Jernegan, 444, 595

Pakistan—Continued

U. S. economic and technical aid, 147, 366, 369, 433, 489, 760

U. S. military aid, 214, 351:

Addresses: Allen, 866; Jernegan, 444, 593, 594, 595

Pakistan request for, 333n, 447

President Eisenhower's letter to Prime Minister Nehru explaining, 400 (text), 447, 448, 594

Statements: Dulles, 581; Eisenhower, 401 (text), 441, 447

U. S. wheat shipments, 369, 489; termination, 760

Palestine Conciliation Commission, 96, 329, 332

Palestine question:

Addresses and statements: Byroade, 708, 761; Howard, 328; Jenkins, 629; Johnston, 788; Lodge, 651; Sanger, 210, 211, 212, 214

Arab case and Israeli case, 629, 630, 631

Arab refugees. *See* Arab refugees and Jordan River Israeli bus, ambush in Negev, 554

Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River

Qibiya incident, 212, 329, 330, 331, 651

Shipping restrictions, Israeli complaint against Egypt, 569

U. N. observation system, 979

Pan American Day:

Addresses (Holland), 675, 677

Proclamation, 564

Pan American Railway Congress, VIII, accomplishments, 167

Pan American Railway Congress Association, member, U. S. national commission, 963

Pan American Sanitary Organization, 238, 692

Pan American Union, relationship to OAS, 951

Panama:

Opium protocol (1953), ratification deposited, 852

Sewerage facilities in Colon Free Zone area, agreement regarding, entry into force, 803

U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298

Pandit, Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi, communication to members regarding reconvening 8th session of U. N. General Assembly, 256

Panmunjom, Korea, negotiations for political conference. *See* Korea

Paraguay:

Ambassador to U. S., credentials, 511

U. S. resumption of diplomatic relations with, 800

Parker, Jameson, press statement on U. S. policy in Indochina, 623

Passports:

Increase in number issued, 999

Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy to facilitate issuance, 194

Patent Appeal Board, establishment by Allied High Commission for Germany, 913

Patterson, Morehead:

Chairman, U. S. committee for United Nations Day, 567, 771

Deputy U. S. representative on U. N. Disarmament Commission, 850

Peace, addresses:

Building a cooperative peace through international understanding (Eisenhower), 699, 899

Peace and security in the H-bomb age (Wainhouse), 983

Peace observation mission, Thai request for. *See* Thailand

Peace treaty, Japan. *See* Japan

Peaceful settlement of disputes. *See* Disputes.

Percy, Charles H., request for President's views on economic policy proposals, 841

Perkins, Warwick, member, Mixed Electoral Commission, Sudan, 213, 281n

Personnel, Public Committee on, formation and 1st meeting, 413; report on, 1002

Peru:

Ecuadoran boundary dispute, conciliation, 468, 678

Haya de la Torre asylum case, 634

GATT, declaration on continued application of schedules, signature, 773

Petroleum. *See* Oil

Peurifoy, John E., confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Guatemala, 298

Philippines:

Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347

Military talks with U. S., statements (Dulles) 864, 948

Mutual defense treaty with U. S. *See under* Mutual defense treaties

Position on Communist threat to Southeast Asia, 623

Trade, inter-island, proposed sale of U. S. merchant vessels for, 571

Trade with Japan, 294, 295

Trade with U. S.:

Reciprocal extension of free-trade period, 802

Trade agreement, proposals for modification, 566

U. S. technical aid, budget recommendations, 147

Phillips, William, opinion on effect of security program on Foreign Service, 169

Phleger, Herman:

International law, address on recent developments in, 196

U. N. awards case, U. S. oral argument, 963

Picó, Rafael, technical aid work, 373

Pierson, Warren Lee, resignation as U. S. delegate to Tripartite Commission on German Debts, 69

Poland:

Consulates general in U. S., closing, 352

Division of, Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (1939), 819, 943

NNSC, false allegations by Polish member against U. N.

Command in Korea, 941, 944, 977

Ship, U. S. rejection of charge of interception of, 824

Political Community, European, projected, 141, 558

Political conference, Korea. *See* Geneva Conference: Korean phase and under Korea

Postal convention, universal, ratifications deposited, 693, 733, 803, 965

Potsdam agreement, creation of Council of Foreign Ministers, 223

Potthoff, Heinz, remarks upon U. S. loan to European Coal and Steel Community, 672

Praca, Polish tanker, U. S. rejection of Polish charge of interception, 824

Press:

Address (Eisenhower), 699

Censorship, statements: Eisenhower, 701; Hotchkis, 682; Lodge, 849

Press—Continued

- Journalists, U. S., kidnapped by Chinese Communists, 685
- U. N. as world forum, 723
- Price-support program :**
- Tung imports, effect on, investigation, 839
- Wool imports, effect on, recommendations of President, 393
- Prisoners of war, Korea :**
- American prisoners, reported transfer to Soviet custody, U. S. and Soviet notes, 785
- Communist prisoners, disturbances by, 61, 92
- Custodian forces, India :
- Arrival in Korea, 92
- Commended, 334, 806
- Transfer of prisoners, 295
- Exchange of :**
- Addresses : Dean, 16; Martin, 546
- Indian attempt to reconvene 8th session of U. N. General Assembly, 256
- U. N. Command reports, 30, 31, 64, 92, 652
- Mistreatment by Communists, 200, 201, 860, 976
- Nonrepatriated, release of :**
- Addresses and statements : Dulles, 153; Eisenhower, 901; Hull, 90, 152; Key, 977; Lodge, 153; Phleger, 201, 206; Robertson, 151, 400; Swedish and Swiss members, NNRC, 115; Wadsworth, 153
- Exchange of correspondents between U. N. Commander and Chairman, NNRC, 90, 113, 115, 153, 154, 295
- U. N. Command report, 31
- Prisoners of war, treatment. See Geneva conventions**
- Private enterprise :**
- In Latin America :**
- Addresses : Bohan, 876; Woodward, 234
- Report of Milton Eisenhower, 159, 235, 360, 381, 764
- In U. S., addresses : Eisenhower and Dulles, 837; Holland, 766
- Private investment capital. See Investment of private capital**
- Proclamations by the President :**
- Oats shipments to U. S., limitation, 56
- Pan American Day, 564
- Rye imports, quota, 565
- Tariff concessions to Uruguay, 53
- Trade agreement with Uruguay, termination, 733
- World Trade Week, 801
- Procurement, off-shore :**
- Agreement with Luxembourg, 803
- Program with France, 641
- Program with Spain, 961
- Propaganda, Communist. See under Communism and Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of**
- Protection of U. S. citizens abroad. See United States citizens**
- Public Committee on Personnel, 413, 1002**
- Publications :**
- Congress, lists of current legislation on foreign policy, 102, 337, 483, 534, 571, 633, 694, 810, 825, 842, 925, 953, 999, 1000
- Foreign Relations of the United States*, released :
- 1936, vol. I (General, British Commonwealth), 654
- 1936, vol. II (Europe), 852

Publications—Continued

- Foreign Relations of the United States*, released—Con
- 1936, vol. III (Near East and Africa), 328
- 1936, vol. IV (Far East), 734
- 1936, vol. V (American Republics), 965
- 1937, vol. I (General), 1006
- 1937, vol. II (British Commonwealth, Europe, Near East, and Africa), 966
- German Foreign Policy Documents, 1918-45* (The War Years, Sept. 4, 1939-Mar. 18, 1940), released, 1005
- Rumanian Legation in U. S., ban on publications of, 47
- State Department, lists of recent releases, 142, 338, 402, 414, 453, 494, 614, 853
- United Nations, lists of current documents, 34, 67, 131, 174, 526, 573, 607, 645, 679, 715, 854, 888, 993
- Puerto Cortes, Honduras, U. S. consular agency closed, 654
- Puerto Rico :**
- Address (Lord) before Legislative Assembly, 372
- U. S. policy toward possible independence, 255
- Purchase agreement with Japan. *See Agricultural surpluses*
- Qibiya, Jordan, raid by Israeli forces, 212, 329, 330, 331, 631, 651
- Radar installations for joint U.S.-Canadian air defense, 639
- Radford, Admiral Arthur, quoted, 849
- Radio Free Europe (*see also Broadcasting*), Czech counter-measures, 320
- Railway Congress, VIII Pan American, accomplishments, 167
- Railway Congress Association, Pan American, member, U. S. national commission, 963
- Randall, Clarence B. :**
- Foreign Economic Policy Commission report. *See Foreign Economic Policy Commission*
- Special White House consultant, appointment, 195n, 325
- U. S. measures to facilitate international travel, letter on, 997
- Raw materials, international trade in :**
- Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 189, 191, 192
- Recommendations of President to Congress, 605
- Reconstruction and Development, International Bank for. See International Bank for Reconstruction and Development**
- Reconstruction Finance Corp., liquidation of certain affairs of, transmittal to Congress of Reorganization Plan No. 2, 813**
- Red Cross, International, statement on International Red Cross Day (Smith), 787**
- Red Cross hospital for Korea, German, agreement for, 270, 568**
- Reed, Representative Daniel A., foreign economic policy minority report, 321n**
- Reed, Harry, food survey, Pakistan, 369**
- Refugee Survey Commission to the Near East, report, 95, 210**
- Refugees and displaced persons :**
- Arab refugees. *See Arab refugees*
- German, from East Zone, 206, 225, 754, 787, 825

Refugees and displaced persons—Continued

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.
See Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

Netherlands, migration to U. S., 714, 797, 798

Refugee Relief Act (1953), operation, address (Auerbach), 797

Trieste, British-U. S. Zone, 129

U. S. voluntary relief, article (Ringland), 385, 388, 389, 390, 392

Regional arrangements (*see also* Collective security; European Defense Community; European treaty for collective security; Middle East Defense Organization; Mutual defense; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and Organization of American States), address (Byroade), 441

Relief, war, voluntary contributions, article (Ringland), 384

Relief and rehabilitation. *See* Arab refugees; Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; Refugees and displaced persons; United Nations Relief and Works Agency; and *individual countries*

Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954, text and transmittal to Congress, 811, 812

Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1954, text and transmittal to Congress, 813, 814

Reuter, Ernst, economic needs of Berlin, appeal for, 588

Reynosa, Mexico, U. S. consulate to be closed, 852

Rhee, Syngman:

Conference with Ambassador Dean on Geneva Conference, 708

Mutual defense treaty, U. S. and Korea, negotiation, 132, 133

Richards, James P., statements:

Jordan River project, 211

Relationship of U. N. General Assembly and Administrative Tribunal, 34, 482

Rifai, Abdul M., credentials as Ambassador of Jordan to U. S., 24

Rihand Dam project, India, 597

Riley, Russell L., address on educational exchange program, 162

Ringland, Arthur C., article on voluntary foreign aid (1939-53), 383

Rio treaty. *See* Inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance

Road traffic convention and protocol:

Actions on, 884

Article (Kelly, Elliot), 117

Robbins, Robert R., designation in State Department, 694

Robertson, Walter S., addresses:

China, Faith in the Future of, 398

Far East, U. S. responsibilities in, 348

Japan:

U. S.-Japanese friendship, 547

U. S. policy toward, 229

Korea, Our Victory in, 149

North Pacific Fisheries Commission meeting, 297

Scandinavian cultural exhibition in U. S., opening, 202

Romulo, Carlos P., establishment of Council for U. S.-Philippine mutual defense matters, 973

Ruanda-Urundi:

Road traffic convention, application to, 884

Trusteeship administration, article (Gerig), 717, 719

Rumania:

Anniversary of national holiday, 755

Georgescu boys, freed, 640

Jews, persecution, statement (Murphy), 914

Publications of Legation in U. S., ban on, 47

Russell, Francis H., address on American diplomacy, 207

Rye imports:

Investigation, 22

Quota, proclamation establishing, 565

Ryukyu Islands (Amami-Oshima group), U. S. relinquishment of rights under Japanese peace treaty, 17, 515

Safety of life at sea convention, acceptance deposited by Nicaragua, 929

St. Lawrence Seaway:

Address (Morton), 363, 364

Legislation enacted, remarks (Eisenhower, Wiley, Ferguson, Dondero), 796

President's message to Congress regarding, 78

St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corp., designation of Secretary of Defense to direct, 959

Salaried Employees and Professional Workers, Advisory Committee of ILO, U. S. delegation, 772

Salmon Fisheries, Pacific, appointment of U. S. member, 640

Saltzman, Charles E., nomination as Under Secretary of State for Administration, 1002

San Luis Potosi, Mexico, U. S. consulate to be closed, 852

San Marino, party to Statute of International Court of Justice, 613

Sanger, Richard H., address on U. S. policy in Middle East during 1953, 209

São Paulo, Brazil, International Film Festival, 298

Saudi Arabia:

Death of King, message (Eisenhower), 212

Export-Import Bank loan, 370, 553, 731

U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298

U. S. economic and technical aid, 367, 433, 553

U. S. relations, statement (Eisenhower), 274

Scandinavia, cultural exhibition in U. S., address (Robertson), 202

Schoenfeld, Rudolph E., confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Colombia, 298

Scissors and shears, retention of present duty on, 840

Seamen, able, convention on certification of, U. S. ratification registered, 693

Sears, Mason, statements on African trust territories, 298, 336, 453

Secretariat, U. N., documents listed, 715, 888

Securities, Belgian, in Germany, registration requirements, 673

Securities, West German, U. S. restoration of trading in, 159

Security, collective. *See* Collective security and Mutual defense

Security, national:

Foreign policy objective, addresses: Murphy, 288; Smith, 263

Security, national—Continued

- Personnel investigations, State Department. *See* State Department
- President's messages to Congress, 78, 143
- Security Council, U. N. (*see also* United Nations):
 - Decrease in power, 252
 - Documents listed, 34, 131, 526, 607, 715, 993
 - Membership provisions, proposed changes, 171, 451
 - Palestine question, action on. *See* Jordan River and Palestine question
 - Trieste problem, postponement, 70
 - Voting procedure:
 - Proposed changes, 171, 172, 173, 451
 - Soviet Union, use of veto, 460, 643, 645, 916, 937, 974, 975n, 984, 986, 989
- Selection Boards, Foreign Service, meeting and membership, 529
- Self-determination. *See under* Colonialism
- Semenov, Vladimir, refusal to restore interzonal freedom of movement in Germany, 509, 879
- Senate, U. S. *See* Congress
- Shaw, G. Howland, opinion on effect of security program on Foreign Service, 169
- Ships and shipping:
 - Brazilian coastal shipping, proposed sale of U. S. vessels for, 533, 952
 - China, loan of U. S. destroyers to, 398, 568
 - China, loan of U. S. small naval craft, agreement for, 965
 - Egyptian shipping restrictions, Israeli complaint, 569
 - Japan, loan of U. S. naval vessels to, agreement for, 929, 965
 - Load line convention, international, actions on, 929
 - Philippines, inter-island trade, proposed sale of U. S. merchant vessels for, 571
 - Polish tanker, U. S. rejection of charges of interception of, 824
 - Safety of life at sea convention, action on, 929
 - Soviet return to U. S. of lend-lease vessels. *See* Lend-lease vessels
 - U. S. maritime policy, address (Bohan), 875
- Warships:
 - Agreement with Cuba to facilitate informal visits, renewal, 884
 - U. S. and British warships, courtesy visits to Istanbul, Soviet protests, 278
- Shivers, Allan, visit to Korea, 836
- Simpson, Representative Richard M., foreign economic policy minority report, 321n
- Sinai Peninsula, irrigation project, 99, 553
- Slave labor. *See* Forced labor
- Slavery convention of 1926, protocol amending:
 - Acceptance, Finland, 773
 - Signature, 567, 773
- Slezak, John, address, Niagara Falls Remedial Project, 954
- Small Business Administration, transfer of functions from Reconstruction Finance Corp., 813
- Smith, David S., designation in State Department, 483
- Smith, Senator H. Alexander, reply (Morton) to inquiry regarding need for Senate action on mutual defense assistance agreement with Japan, 570

Smith, Walter Bedell:

- Addresses, statements, etc.:
 - Arab refugee problem, 97
 - Current international problems, progress toward solving, 358
 - European Coal and Steel Community, U. S. loan to, 672
 - EDC treaty, Netherlands deposit of ratification, 433
 - Foreign policy for the "long haul," 263
 - Geneva Conference: Indochina, 589, 783, 944; Korea, 915, 940; U. S. goals, 744
 - Lithuanian independence day, 320
 - Red Cross Day, International, 787
- Correspondence:
 - Canadian oats, limitation on shipments to U. S., 21
 - Reply to Arthur H. Dean regarding unavailability for Geneva Conference, 398
 - Geneva Conference, chairman, U. S. delegation, 739
- Smith-Mundt Act. *See* Educational exchange program
- Solidarity, declaration of. *See under* Inter-American Conference
- Somaliand, narcotic drugs, 1948 protocol to convention, extension to, 693
- South Africa, Union of:
 - Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
 - Treaties, agreements, etc., ratifications deposited:
 - German external debts, 693
 - Postal convention, universal, 733
 - Sugar agreement, international, 733
 - Telecommunication convention, international, 773
- South Asia and Southeast Asia. *See* Asia
- South Pacific Commission, agreement relating to frequency of sessions, signed, 852
- Southworth, Winthrop M., Jr., designation in State Department, 774
- Soviet bloc countries:
 - Arms shipment to Guatemala, 835
 - Forced labor, report of U. N. *ad hoc* committee, statements: Dulles, 422; Hotchkis, 804; Key, 976; Lodge, 849
 - Popular resistance in, 823
 - U. N. specialized agencies, policy toward, 828, 829
 - U. S. export policy:
 - East-West trade, Battle Act report, 843
 - Export-license requirements, 157
 - Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 194
 - Statements by Secretary Weeks, 111, 321
- Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of (*see also* Communism):
 - Aggression. *See* Communism
 - Aircraft of, alleged destruction by U. S. over Manchuria, U. S. and Soviet notes, 408, 410, 412
- Atomic policy:
 - Control of weapons, 757, 758
 - Progress in development, address (Strauss), 660
 - Talks with U. S. 9, 80, 82, 110, 465, 622, 661, 977, 987
- Austrian Government, allegations against, U. S. concern, 824
- Austrian state treaty, proposals for. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting
- Censorship practices, 682, 686

Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of—Continued

China, Communist:

Alliance with, addresses, etc.: Jenkins, 624, 625, 859;
Martin, 544, 545

Five-power conference, Soviet attempts to include,
81, 181, 182, 183, 222, 223, 292, 346, 404, 405, 739

Membership on U. N. Disarmament Subcommittee,
Soviet proposal for, 688

Disarmament:

Member, U. N. Disarmament Subcommittee, 687, 688
Obstructionist measures, 786, 985, 986, 987, 988

Position on, 757, 758

"Divide and conquer" policy, 148, 362, 460, 562, 900

Economic conditions, ECE survey, 611

Economic policies, address (Merchant), 823

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, absorption, 267, 269, 942

Europe, Western, policy in, 4, 6, 8, 148, 461

EDC, verbal attacks on, 180, 265, 314, 344, 362, 757, 758,
822, 880

European treaty for collective security, proposals for.

See European treaty for collective security

Five-power conference with Communist China, attempts
for, 81, 181, 182, 183, 222, 223, 292, 346, 404, 405, 739

Forced labor, report of U. N. *ad hoc* committee, state-
ments: Dulles, 422; Hotchkis, 804; Key, 976; Lodge,
849

Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Berlin. *See* Foreign
Ministers' Meeting

Freedom of information, charges against U. S. in Eco-
nomic and Social Council, refutation (Hotchkis), 685,
730, 809

Geneva Conference. *See* Geneva Conference

Germany:

Objectives in, address (Conant), 754

Unification, proposals for. *See* Foreign Ministers'
Meeting

Germany, East, claim of "sovereignty" for, 511, 588, 670

Germany, West, assassination plots, U. S. protest, 671,
715

Greece, "peace offensive" in, 276

Korea:

American prisoners of war, denial of transfer to
Soviet custody, 785

Soviet obstructions to unification, statement (Dulles),
704

Middle East and South Asia, policy in, addresses:

Jenkins, 629; Jernegan, 444

Military strength, address (Merchant), 821

Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (1939), 819, 943

NATO, verbal attacks on, 226, 268, 312, 313, 344, 358,
562, 759

Personal freedom, restriction on, address (Strelbert),
203

Power system, address (Merchant), 819

Prisoners of war, attitude toward, 201

Propaganda (*see also* under Communism):

India, 593

Middle East, 709

Propaganda machine, address (Strelbert), 206

Underdeveloped countries, 828, 829

Use of U. N. for, 828

Thai request for peace observation mission, veto in
Security Council, 936, 974, 975a

Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of—Continued

Threat to free world, 440, 484, 819

Treaties, agreements, etc., ratifications deposited:

Geneva prisoners of war conventions, 1001

Genocide convention, 884

Sugar agreement, international, 733

Turkish Straits problem, proposals and protests, 277

United Nations, denunciation and rejection of authority
of, 915, 916, 917

UNESCO, constitution of, signature and deposit of
acceptance, 884

U. N. specialized agencies, policy toward, 828, 829, 884,
980

U. N. trusteeship administration, criticism of, 717

U. S. air and naval bases in Greece, protest, 277

U. S. aircraft, destruction over Sea of Japan, U. S.
note, 408, 409

U. S.-Hungarian plane incident (1951), Soviet conduct
regarding, U. S. application to International Court
of Justice, 449, 450 (text)

U. S. lend-lease vessels. *See* Lend-lease vessels

U. S. private investment abroad, false charges con-
cerning, 730

Veto, use in Security Council, 460, 643, 645, 916, 937,
974, 975a, 984, 986, 989

Spain:

Economic and military arrangements with U. S.:

Agreements: FOA report, 488; addresses (Dunn),
476, 960

FOA allocations, 641, 960

U. S. bases in, statements (Dulles), 580, 922

Visits of officials to U. S., 962

World Meteorological Organization convention, appli-
cation to Spanish Guinea and Spanish Zone of Mo-
rocco, 733

Special Refugee Survey Commission to the Near East,
interim report on Arab refugee situation, 95, 210

Specialized agencies, U. N. (*see also* name of agency):

Coordination system, possible improvement, 451

Soviet policy toward, 828, 829, 980

U. S. contributions, 371, 550

Work of, addresses (Key), 396, 827, 980

Spekke, Arnolds, letters of appointment as Chargé in
U. S. of Republic of Latvia, 882

Stassen, Harold E.:

Addresses, statements, etc.:

Berlin, need for financial aid, 587

East-West trade talks with U. K. and France, 563

Hong Kong fire victims, emergency relief for, 87

Pakistan, completion of wheat shipments to, 760

Technical aid program: Address, 871; announcement
on cooperation of voluntary agencies, 674

U. S. aid to Europe, 485

Reports and recommendations:

Battle Act operations, report to Congress (July-Dec.
1953), 843

Continuance of U. S. aid under Battle Act provisions,
recommendations, 491

Visit to Near East and South Asia (1953), 209, 275

Visit to Southeast Asia and Pacific (1954), 333

State Department (*see also* Foreign Service):

Appointments, confirmations, etc., 169, 338, 374, 413, 483,
694, 774, 814, 966, 1004

State Department (*see also* Foreign Service)—Continued

- Educational exchange program. *See* Educational exchange program
- Foreign affairs, conduct of, President's message to Congress, 147
- Foreign Buildings Architectural Advisory Board, establishment, 169
- Inspection service, 413, 774
- Organizational changes, 413
- Passports, 194, 909
- Personnel security program:
 - Investigative procedures, address (McLeod), 469
 - Effect on Foreign Service, statement (Dulles), 169
- Publications. *See* Publications
- Resignations and retirements, 374, 774
- Wriston report, correspondence (Dulles, Wriston), 1002
- State Governors, U. S., visit to Korea, 273, 836
- State of the Union address (Eisenhower), 75, 274
- Status of forces, status of international military headquarters, and status of NATO, national representatives and international staff, agreements and protocol, 198, 693, 694, 1001
- Steel agreement, U. S. and India, 156, 369
- Strategic materials:
 - Battle Act operations (July-Dec. 1953), report to Congress, 843
 - Continuance of aid to certain countries under Battle Act, 491
 - Defined, 843
 - Recommendations of 10th Inter-American Conference, 636
 - Stockpiling, President's budget message to Congress, 145
- Strauss, Lewis L.:
 - Hydrogen-bomb tests in the Pacific, statement, 548, 926
 - Peaceful use of atomic energy, President Eisenhower's proposals, address, 659
- Streibert, Theodore C., address, Soil of Freedom, 203
- Stuart, R. Douglas, address on U. S.-Canadian relations, 18
- Student-exchange program. *See* Educational exchange program
- Students, Chinese, in U. S., statement issued at Geneva Conference concerning, 949
- Submarines, atomic, launching, 144, 303
- Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian:
 - Controversy, article (Howard), 280
 - Elections, 213
- Suez Base negotiations, addresses: Howard, 281; Sanger, 213
- Sugar agreement, international:
 - Advantages and status, 493
 - Ratifications and accessions, 525, 733, 773
- Sullivan, Representative Leonor, letter to Secretary Dulles regarding coffee-price increase, 257
- Suomela, Arnie J., appointment on fisheries commissions, 640
- Surinam, U. S. technical aid, survey and agreement, 89, 733
- Surplus agricultural commodities. *See* Agricultural surpluses
- Suydam, Henry, press statement on atomic energy conversations with Soviet Union, 80

Sweden:

- Cultural exhibition in U. S., address (Robertson), 202
- NNRC, position on unrepatriated prisoners of war, 115
- NNSC, refutation of Communist charges against U. N. Command, 941, 944, 977
- Ocean stations agreement, accession deposited, 884
- U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 414

Switzerland:

- German external debts, agreement on, ratification deposited, 693
- International Red Cross Day, 787
- NNRC, position on unrepatriated prisoners of war, 115
- NNSC, refutation of Communist charges against U. N. Command, 941, 944, 977

Syria (*see also* Palestine question):

- Arab refugee problem, 96, 97, 98, 553
- Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River

Tanganyika, East Africa, progress toward self-determination: article (Gerig), 717, 719; statement (Sears), 453

Tariff policy, U. S.:

- Basic principles, address (Hensel), 919
- Concession to Uruguay, proclamation of, 53
- President's economic report to Congress, 221
- President's recommendations to Congress on foreign economic policy, 603
- Reciprocal reduction of barriers, address (Holland), 767
- Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 191, 192, 323, 324, 517, 603, 847
- Scissors and shears, President's decision not to increase duty on, 840
- Tung imports, effect on price-support program, investigation, 839
- Wool imports, recommendations of President concerning price-support program, 381, 393

Tariffs and trade, general agreement on:

- Continued application of schedules, declaration on, actions on, 525, 773, 803
- India, request for renegotiation of tariff concessions, 406

Japan:

- Benefits of accession, 233
- Commercial policy pending accession, text of decision and declarations, 154, 514
- Recommendations of Commission of Foreign Economic Policy and President's message to Congress, 193, 324, 604, 841

Rectifications and modifications to texts of schedules, actions on—

- Second protocol, 803
- Third protocol, 525, 773, 803, 852, 965, 1001

Uruguay, accession, 53

Work commended, 512

Tax incentives for U. S. investors abroad:

- President's budget message to Congress, 237, 428, 429, 729
- President's recommendations to Congress on foreign economic policy, 604, 842, 999
- Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 190, 191, 192, 324

Tax treatment of the forces and their members, convention between U. S., U. K., France, and Federal Republic of Germany, German deposit of ratification, 653

Taxation, double, avoidance of. See Double taxation

Teacher-exchange program. See Educational exchange program

Technical assistance program, U. N. See under United Nations

Technical cooperation, OAS, action by 10th Inter-American Conference, 636

Technical cooperation program, U. S. See Mutual security and assistance programs

Technical missions to U. S., Japanese, agreement for, 568

Telecommunication convention, international, accessions and ratifications deposited 773, 1001

Telecommunication policy, U. S., address (Black), 83

Territorial asylum, convention on, 634

Thailand:

- Communist threat to, statement (Dulles), 43
- Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347
- Military talks with U. S., statements (Dulles), 864, 948
- Peace observation mission, request for:
 - Addresses and statements: Dulles, 936, 974; Lodge, 974
 - Thai draft resolution, 975
- Position on Communist threat to Southeast Asia, 590, 623
- U. N. technical aid program, 373

Thermonuclear tests. See Atomic energy.

Thimayya, Gen. K. S., correspondence with Gen. Hull on release of nonrepatriated prisoners of war, Korea, 90, 113, 115, 153

Thornton, Dan, visit to Korea, 273, 836

Three powers, convention on relations with Germany, German ratification, 653

Thurston, Ray L., designation in State Department, 966

Thurston, Walter, chairman, U. S.-Mexican Migratory Labor Commission, 565

Timberman, Maj. Gen. Thomas S., efforts to restore freedom of movement in Germany, 509, 510

Tin agreement, international:

- Article (Nichols), 239
- U. S. position, 393

Togoland, British, progress toward self-rule, 336, 718

Togoland, French, administration as trust territory, 716, 718

Token Import Plan, British, extension, 123

Tourism. See Travel, international

Trade (see also Economic policy and relations, U. S.):

- Agricultural surpluses. *See* Agricultural surpluses
- American republics, trade with, addresses: Cabot, 48; Holland, 767; Woodward, 235
- Battle Act controls, 491, 843
- China, Communist, embargo on exports to, 41, 42, 111, 112, 194, 563, 626, 845, 848, 861
- Commercial samples and advertising material, international convention to facilitate importation, Indonesian accession deposited, 965
- Commercial treaties. *See* Commercial treaties
- East-West trade:
 - Battle Act, 491, 843

Trade—Continued

- East-West trade—Continued
 - Message of President to Congress, 606
 - Recommendations of Foreign Economic Policy Commission, 194
 - Talks, U. S., U. K., and France, 563
- European trade, economic survey by ECE, 608
- Export-Import Bank loans. *See* Export-Import Bank
- Export-licensing regulations, U. S., 157, 321
- Foreign Economic Policy Commission report. *See* Foreign Economic Policy Commission
- FOA report to Congress (June 30-Dec. 31, 1953), 485
- Imports. *See* Imports
- Japanese trade. *See* Japan
- Merchandise, convention on uniformity of nomenclature for classification of, U. S. withdrawal, 929
- Military policy, U. S., effect on foreign trade, address (Hensel), 919
- North Korea, embargo on exports to, 111, 112, 194, 563, 845
- Philippine trade. *See* Philippines
- President's economic reports to Congress, 219, 321, 602
- Price instability in primary commodities, statement (Hotchkis), 726
- Soviet bloc, U. S. export policy, 111, 157, 194, 321, 845
- Strategic materials. *See* Strategic materials
- Sugar agreement, international, 493
- Tariff policy, U. S. *See* Tariff policy
- Tariffs and trade, general agreement on. *See* Tariffs and trade
- Tin exports under international tin agreement, 245
- U. K., Token Import Plan, extension, 123
- War materials, convictions for illegal export, 567
- World Trade Week, proclamation, 801

Trade agreements:

- Ecuador, possible amendment of agreement, 173
- Escape clauses, report on:
 - Message of President to Congress, 173, 603
 - Recommendation of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 193
- Scissors and shears, investigation of concessions on and decision not to increase duty, 840
- Uruguay, termination of agreement, 732

Trade Agreements Act (see also Tariffs and trade, general agreement on):

- Extension, 220
- Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy and President's recommendations to Congress, 193, 603, 841, 842

Trade and Economic Affairs, Joint U. S.-Canada Committee, meeting and communique, 364, 511

Transportation (see also Ships and Shipping):

- Pan American Railway Congress, VIII, 167, 963
- Road traffic convention and protocol, 117, 884

Travel, international:

- Americans abroad, article (Colligan), 663
- Facilitation, U. S. measures, letter (Randall to Javits), 997
- Motor traffic, standardization and simplification of regulations, 117, 884, 998
- Recommendations of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, 194
- Recommendations of President to Congress, 606, 842

Travel, international—Continued

U. S. customs simplification, 192, 604, 842, 998

Visa fees and tourist charges, agreement with El Salvador for abolishment, 773

Treaties, agreements, etc., international (*for specific treaty, see country or subject*):

Bilateral economic treaties, U. S. and other countries, listed, 443

Bricker amendment, text and views of President, 195

Current actions on, listed, 525, 567, 613, 653, 693, 733, 773, 803, 851, 884, 929, 965, 1001

Educational exchange, operation under executive agreements, 889

Foreign investments, negotiation of treaties for protection of, 729

Technical assistance agreements, provisions, 551

Tribunal, Administrative, U. N., relationship to General Assembly, request for advisory opinion of Court in U. N. awards case, 34, 199, 482, 963

Trieste, Free Territory of, report on administration of British-U. S. Zone, 124

Trieste, Zone B, agreement on German external debts, accession deposited, 733

Trieste problem, postponement of Security Council discussion, 70

Tripartite Commission on German Debts, completion of work and resignation of U. S. delegate, 69

Tripartite Pact (Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia), 248, 276, 365, 441

Troops, U. S. *See* Armed forces

Tropical Tuna Commission, Inter-American, appointment of U. S. commissioner, 640

Trust territories (*see also* Colonialism):

Africa. *See under* Africa

Pacific. *See* Pacific trust territory

Trusteeship Council, U. N.:

Documents listed, 69, 174, 645, 679, 854

14th session, U. S. representative and advisers, 930

Trusteeship system, operation, 716

Tsuzuki, Dr. Masao, visit to U. S., 791

Tubman, William V. S., visit to U. S., 795

Tuna Commission, Tropical, Inter-American, appointment of U. S. commissioner, 640

Tuna industry, Japan, unharmed by radioactivity, 598

Tung imports, investigation of effect on price-support program, 839

Tunisian situation, article (Howard), 332

Turkey:

Copper shipments to Czechoslovakia, 493

Economic progress, statement (Anderson), 284

Export-Import Bank loans, 370, 553, 731

Geneva Conference, invitation to, 347

Geneva conventions on prisoners of war (1949), ratification deposited, 773

International Bank loans, 286, 371, 407, 551, 553

Investment legislation, 285n, 486, 551

NATO, membership, 277, 279, 285, 440, 912

NATO, protocol on status of international military headquarters, ratification deposited, 1001

NATO, status of forces agreement, accession deposited, 1001

Turkey—Continued

Pakistan, joint communique on security, 327, 333n, 400, 401:

Addresses and statements: Byroade, 441, 442; Dulles, 581, 923; Jernegan, 444, 595

President of, visit to U. S., 24, 162, 213, 284:

Address before joint session of Congress, 247

Award of Legion of Merit, 249

Prime Minister, visit to U. S., 879, 912

Tripartite Balkan Pact (with Greece and Yugoslavia), 248, 276, 365, 441

Turkish Straits problem, Soviet proposals and protests, 277

U. S. military and economic aid, 247, 279, 366, 367, 550, 553, 580, 714, 992; joint communique, 912

Underdeveloped areas (*see also* Colonialism):

Soviet noncooperation in assistance to, 828, 829

U. N. aid. *See* United Nations: Technical assistance program

U. S. economic policy toward (*see also* Mutual security and assistance programs), address and statements: Hotchkis, 725; Key, 826

UNESCO. *See* United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

Union of South Africa. *See* South Africa, Union of

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *See* Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of

United Fruit Co., expropriation of land in Guatemala, U. S. claim and proposed arbitration, 678, 938, 950

United Kingdom:

British Commonwealth, *Foreign Relations* volumes on, released, 654, 966

British Guiana, U. S. technical cooperation survey, 89

British West Africa, international telecommunication convention, accession deposited, 773

Channel Islands, treaty actions, 693, 733

Cyprus, statement in U. N. by Greek representative, 276

Disarmament efforts in U. N., 986

Disarmament Subcommittee, U. N., member, 687, 688

East-West trade talks with U. S. and France, 563

Egypt:

Controversy with, developments in 1953, article (Howard), 280

Elections in Sudan, address (Sanger), 213

Enemy property, conflicting claims to, meetings with U. S. to discuss, 590

EDC, position on:

Policy statement on, 620 (text), 748

Statement (Dulles), 185

Fisheries dispute with Iceland, address (Phleger), 200

Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Berlin. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting

Geneva Conference. *See* Geneva Conference

Germany:

Interzonal freedom of movement, efforts to restore, 508, 879

Unification plan. *See* Foreign Ministers' Meeting

Germany, East, joint declaration on Soviet claim for "sovereignty" of, 588

Gold Coast, self-rule, 336, 717

United Kingdom—Continued

Hong Kong:

- U. S. emergency relief for fire victims, 87
- U. S. export policy, 112
- Indochina and Southeast Asia, conversations with U. S.:
 - Joint statement, 622
 - Statements (Dulles), 590, 668

Iranian oil dispute:

- Developments in 1953, article (Howard), 279
- U. S. efforts to settle, address (Sanger), 214
- Isle of Man, application of universal postal convention to, 693

Military talks with U. S., 948

Monetary gold case, 199

Nigeria, self-rule, 298, 336, 717, 718

Palestine question, draft resolution in Security Council on Jordan Valley project, 58, 59, 297

Patent Appeal Board, Germany, membership on, 913

Prime Minister (Churchill) and Foreign Secretary (Eden) to visit U. S., statements (White House and Dulles), 989, 991

Queen Mother, visit to U. S., 327

Suez Base negotiations, 213

Token Import Plan, extension, 123

Treaties, agreements, etc.:

- Income tax convention with U. S.:
 - Amendment, 884
 - Supplementary protocol signed, 928
- NATO, status of forces agreement, ratification deposited, 1001
- Postal convention, universal, ratification deposited for U. K., and overseas territories, colonies, etc., 693, 733
- Sugar agreement, international, ratification deposited, 525
- Technical cooperation agreement with U. S. for Caribbean area, 653
- Telecommunication convention, international, accession deposited for British West Africa, 773
- Trieste, British-U. S. Zone, report on administration of, 124
- Trust territories in Africa, administration, 298, 336, 718, 719
- U. S. aid:
 - Caribbean area, 653
 - Continuance under Battle Act provisions, 491
- U. S.-American ties, strengthening, address (Aldrich), 591

United Nations:

Addresses:

- A Fresh Look at the U. N. (Key), 976
- Peaceful Change through the U. N. (Key), 394
- U. N. Record of Accomplishment (Lodge), 721
- U. S. support: Dulles, 935; Matthews, 436; Murphy, 786
- What the U. N. Means to the U. S. (Lodge), 252
- Annual report of Secretary General, excerpt, 275
- China, Communist, unfitness for membership, addresses:
 - Dulles, 540; Jenkins, 625, 626, 861, 862; Lodge, 724
- Collective security actions, Soviet obstruction, 984
- Conventional Armaments Commission, 986
- Documents, listed, 34, 67, 131, 174, 526, 573, 607, 645, 679, 715, 854, 888, 903

United Nations—Continued

Employees:

Address (Lodge), 254

Dismissal, question of payment of awards, 34, 199, 482, 963

Fiscal contributions, 254, 255

Forced labor report. *See* Forced labor

General Assembly. *See* General Assembly

Genocide convention:

Soviet ratification deposited, 884

Summary of action on, 882

Greece, border disturbances, U. N. observation, 978

Indochina situation, question of action by U. N., 863, 936

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

International Court of Justice. *See* International Court of Justice

International Law Commission, address (Phleger), 199

Investment, private international, opportunity for encouraging, 730

Japan, armed forces in, agreements regarding. *See* Japan

Japan, question of admission, 514

Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River

Kashmir, disturbances, U. N. observation, 979

Korea:

Contributions, 255, 452, 723, 724, 936

NNSC, 689, 941, 944, 977

Observation group in, 979

Unification, review of U. N. attempts toward, statement (Dulles), 704

U. N. Command operations. *See under* Korea

Marshallese complaint regarding atomic tests by U. S., 886

Minorities Subcommittee, designation of U. S. alternate member, 59

Motor traffic, international, recommendations, 118

Observer system, 978, 979, 984

Palestine question, efforts toward solution. *See* Palestine question

Peaceful settlement role, 983, 984

Publications. *See under* Publications

Security Council. *See* Security Council

Soviet concept of 5-power control, 182, 222, 223

Soviet denunciation and rejection of authority of, 915, 916, 917, 977

Specialized agencies. *See* Specialized agencies and name of agency

Technical assistance program:

Address (Key), 396

Information media, possible application to, statement (Hotchkis), 684

Latin America, 237, 238

Soviet reversal of policy toward, 828

Thailand, 373

U. S. support, 190, 366, 369, 828, 849, 984

Thai request for peace observation mission. *See* Thailand

U. S. economic relations, benefits by participation in U. N., address (Key), 826

U. S. support, addresses: Dulles, 935; Eisenhower, 703

- United Nations—Continued**
 "Uniting for Peace" resolution, addresses, statements, etc., 171, 396, 461, 643, 985, 989
 World forum, addresses: Lodge, 723, 724; Key, 976
 World Health Organization. *See* World Health Organization
- United Nations Administrative Tribunal**, relationship to General Assembly, submission to International Court of Justice for advisory opinion in U. N. awards case, 34, 199, 482, 963
- United Nations Charter**, review of, addresses and statements: Dulles, 170, 397, 642, 644, 645; Key, 397; Lodge, 451; Wainhouse, 642
- United Nations Children's Fund:**
 Accomplishments (1953), 828
 U. S. contribution to, 366, 371
- United Nations Command operations in Korea.** *See under* Korea
- United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine**, 96, 329, 332
- United Nations Conference on Tin**, 239, 241
- United Nations Day:**
 Appointment of chairman of U. S. committee, 567
 Letter of President Eisenhower regarding, 771
- United Nations Disarmament Commission.** *See* Disarmament Commission
- United Nations Economic and Social Council.** *See* Economic and Social Council
- United Nations Economic Commission for Europe:**
 Annual economic survey of Europe, statement (Brown), 608
 Statement (Lodge), 849
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization:**
 Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, Intergovernmental Conference on Protection of, U. S. delegation, 691
 Educational opportunities for women, report, 649, 650
 Executive Board meeting, 413
 Soviet membership, 828, 829, 884, 980
 U. S. national commission for, appointments to, 60
 Work of, 828
- United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization**, work of, 396, 828
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees:**
 Establishment, 97
 Extension, 99, 210, 211, 332
 Jordan Valley project. *See* Jordan River
 Refugee relief work, 97, 98, 553
 Sinai Peninsula, irrigation project, 99
 U. S. contributions, 99, 147, 552
- United Nations Truce Supervision Organization**, 212, 329, 331, 979
- United Nations Trusteeship Council.** *See* Trusteeship Council
- United States:**
 Attitudes toward Allies, address (Matthews), 434
 World leadership, 289, 436, 459, 490, 939
- United States citizens:**
 Claims. *See* Claims
 Detention in Communist China, discussions at Geneva, 949, 950
- United States citizens—Continued**
 Journalists, kidnapping by Chinese Communists, 685
 Personal relationships abroad, importance, address (Woodward), 236
 Protection of, in Guatemala, 981, 982
 Traveling abroad, article (Colligan), 663
- United States citizenship**, President's recommendations to Congress on internal security legislation, 78
- United States Information Agency.** *See* Information Agency, U. S.
- "Uniting for Peace" resolution, U. N., addresses, statements, etc., 171, 396, 461, 643, 985, 989
- Uruguay:**
 GATT, accession to, 53
 Trade agreement with U. S., termination, 732
 U. S. Ambassador, confirmation, 298
 U. S. tariff concessions, proclamation of, 53
- USIA.** *See* Information Agency, U. S.
- Venezuela:**
 Inter-American Conference, 10th. *See* Inter-American Conference
 U. S. private investment, 728
- Vessels.** *See* Ships and shipping
- Veto power in U. N. Security Council.** *See* Security Council: Voting procedure
- Viet Minh:**
 Aggression in Indochina. *See* Geneva Conference and Indochina
 Atrocity in Cambodia, Cambodian note and U. S. reply, 746
- Viet-Nam:**
 Communist aggression. *See* Indochina.
 Independence, progress toward, 359, 432, 539, 582, 742, 784, 863, 924, 948, 972
 International supervisory commission for, proposed, 944
- Virginia Independence Resolution and Bill of Rights**, commemoration, address (Dulles), 779, 988
- Visa fees**, agreement with El Salvador for abolishment of certain fees, 773
- Visual and auditory materials**, agreement facilitating international circulation of:
 Entry into force, 1001
 Haiti, acceptance deposited, 965
- Voice of America** (*see also* Broadcasting):
 Address (Streibert), 205
 Czech countermeasures, 320
 Popularity rating, 320
- Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service**, American Council of, article (Ringland), 385, 387, 389, 392
- Voluntary foreign aid:**
 Organization of (1939-53), article (Ringland), 383
 Refugee relief program, role of voluntary agencies, address, (Auerbach), 797, 800
 Technical aid program, 389, 674
- Voluntary Foreign Aid**, Advisory Committee on, article (Ringland), 383
- Wadsworth, George**, confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Minister to Yemen, 298
- Wadsworth, James J.:**
 Letter to Secretary General of U. N. on U. S. position on reconvening 8th session of General Assembly, 256

Wadsworth, James J.—Continued

Statements in U. N.:

Jordan Valley project, 297

Prisoners of war, Korea, unrepatriated, release, 153

Trieste problem, postponement, 70

Wailles, Edward T., designation as Assistant Secretary of State for Personnel Administration, 413

Wainhouse, David W.:

Designation as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for U. N. Affairs, 483

Peace and security in the H-bomb age, address, 983

Tunisian problem, statement, 333

U. N. Charter review, address, 642

War Claims Commission, U. S., 24, 811

War materials, illegal export, convictions, 567

War relief, voluntary, article (Ringland), 384

War Relief Control Board, 384, 385

Waring, Frank A., address on Japanese economy, 293

Warren, Earl, statements on Japanese recovery, 431

Warren, George L., articles on Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, 26, 994

Warships. *See under* Ships and shipping

Washburn, Abbott McC., confirmation as Deputy Director, U. S. Information Agency, 337

Waugh, Samuel C., addresses and statements:

Agricultural surpluses, use of, 238

Economic relations, inter-American, 427

Foreign economic policy, 321

Weather stations, North Atlantic. *See* North Atlantic ocean stations

Weeks, Sinclair, U. S. export policy toward Soviet bloc, 111, 321

Weights and measures, convention on, adherence deposited by Brazil, 1001

West Africa. *See* Africa

Western powers, unity, address (Murphy), 473

"Wetbacks" (*see also* Mexico: Migrant labor agreement), Soviet charges concerning U. S. treatment, 809

Wheat agreement, international, agreement revising and renewing:

Actions by Honduras and Yugoslavia, 851

Status by country, 526

Wheat shipments to foreign countries:

Afghanistan, agreement for, 566, 613

Bolivia, 468, 488, 489

Jordan, 489, 552; agreement, 55

Libya, 489

Pakistan, 369, 489, 760

White, Lincoln, press statements:

Israeli bus ambush, 554

Soviet claim of "full sovereignty" for East Germany, 511

Wiley, Senator Alexander, sponsor of St. Lawrence Seaway bill and remarks upon signing of, 363, 364, 796

Willauer, Whiting, confirmation as U. S. Ambassador to Honduras, 337

Wilson, Charles E., statement on air-defense cooperation, U. S. and Canada, 639

Winterton, Maj. Gen. Sir John, report on administration of British-U. S. Zone of Trieste, 124

Women, Commission on Education of, proposed study, 649

Women, Inter-American Commission of, revision of Statute, 638

Women, rights of, resolutions of 10th Inter-American Conference, 638

Women, status of, statements in U. N. regarding (Hahn), 646

Wood, C. Tyler, confirmation as Economic Coordinator, Korea, 337

Woodward, Mrs. Margaret Rupli, address on economic reconstruction of West Berlin, 584

Woodward, Robert F.:

Brazilian coastal shipping, statement on proposed U. S. sale of ships for, 533

Private enterprise in Latin America, address on, 234

Wool, U. S. import policy, statement (Eisenhower), 381, 393

World Bank. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

World brotherhood, address (Murphy), 785

World Health Organization:

Budget for 1955 and U. S. assessment, 964

Executive Board session, U. S. delegation 130

Work of, 396, 828, 981

World Health Assembly, 7th, U. S. delegation, 771

World Meteorological Organization convention, application to Spanish Guinea and Spanish Zone of Morocco, 733

World power situation, address (Murphy), 988

World Trade Week, proclamation, 801

Wounded and sick, treatment in time of war. *See* Geneva conventions

Wriston, Henry M., recommendations for strengthening U. S. Foreign Service, 413, 1002

Yalta, 180, 312, 541, 971

Yemen, U. S. Minister, confirmation, 298

Yoshida, Shigeru, visit to U. S. postponed, 918

Yugoslavia:

Ambassador to U. S. credentials, 624

FOA allotments for U. S. agricultural surpluses, 714

Tripartite Balkan Pact (with Greece and Turkey), 248, 276, 365, 441

Wheat agreement, international, accession deposited, 851

Zahedi, Fazlollah, request for U. S. aid for Iran, 280

Zionism. *See* Israel

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